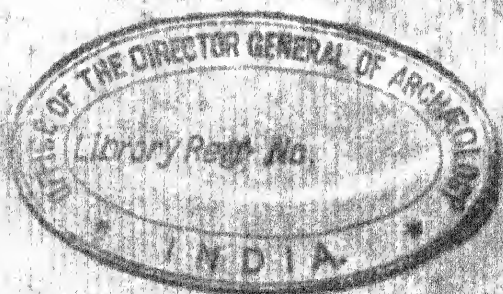


LETTERS ON RELIGION AND FOLKLORE



LETTERS ON RELIGION AND FOLKLORE

BY THE LATE

F. W. HASLUCK, M.A.

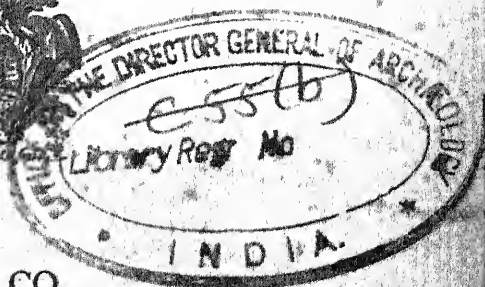
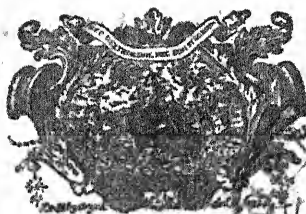
Author of *Cyzicus, Athos and Its Monasteries*; Joint Author of *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates at Paros*

Formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Librarian of the British Archæological School at Athens

ANNOTATED BY

MARGARET M. HASLUCK, B.A. (Cantab.), M.A. (Abdn.)

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ANNOTATOR'S PREFACE

THIS book consists of extracts from letters which my husband wrote during the last years of his life to Professor R. M. Dawkins as a running commentary on the books he was reading or writing. Had he continued to live in Greece, where he spent his best years, mediæval antiquities and Turkish popular religion would have absorbed most of his time. Ill-health, however, sent him to France in 1916 and to Switzerland in 1917. In France he had no access to books on his special subjects, and even among the greater facilities of Switzerland he could rarely consult reference books. For these reasons his reading became irregular and wide.

As a result, his letters to Professor Dawkins discussed, not only the interplay of Islam and Christianity in the East, but also the transition in the West from paganism to Christianity and the evolution of Christianity from the "Pelagian" to the "Olympian" stage. For these later studies he drew with good results on his experience of similar phenomena in the Near East.

Whatever in the letters concerned his forthcoming book on "Christianity and Islam under the Sultans" has been incorporated into it. The present book contains the residue of his letters together with an Appendix, "Round Temple and Round Church," which is all that exists of the book he planned and proposed to call "Transferences from Paganism to Christianity."

Besides discussing Christianity the present book gives a considerable amount of miscellaneous information which the Author gleaned in various by-paths of the Near East. This

includes notes on architecture, the revival by sophisticated literature of almost forgotten oral traditions, the influence of eikonography on folk-literature, the oriental character of much Balkan folklore, and the part played by Syria in disseminating both Christian and Mohammedan legends. Young students may also welcome the suggestions of subjects for research which occur on pages 28, 52, 54, 120, 162.

The letters were not written for publication, but only for the diversion of a friend. They pursue no topic to the end, and they sometimes indulge in speculation. After much hesitation I have retained most of the speculative passages. They may stimulate, and they cannot mislead, for the writer himself labelled them as dangerous.

The text with all its whimsicalities of vocabulary and spelling has been left as written. In style my husband was consciously influenced by Edward Lear's letters and by early books of travel. Where contractions or allusions might create difficulties for readers who have no special knowledge of the Near East, footnotes have been added. If a difficulty recurs, a footnote refers to, or repeats, the explanation already offered. Bibliographical references also may be found in the footnotes. All the notes aim only at interpreting the text, not at being exhaustive.

As to my obligations, my thanks are primarily due to Professor Dawkins for his kind permission to copy my husband's letters. Père H. Delehayé, S.J., Mr. E. Edwards, Mr. D. Herbert, Mr. G. F. Hill, Professor W. R. Lethaby, Dr. William Miller, Professor Gabriel Millet, and Sir Richard Temple, Bt., C.I.E., have all assisted me with points of detail. The staffs in the Reading-Room of the British Museum and in the Map-Room of the Royal Geographical Society have given me every possible facility. Mr. W. B. Dukes helped me to select the illustrations, the plan in Plate 27 is by Mr. R. F. R. Day, those in Plates 6 and 12 are by Mr. A. E. Henderson, who has

also given me the photograph reproduced on Plate 11. For the photograph of Preveza (Plate 4) I am indebted to Mrs. G. W. Rendel, and for that of the Malwiyah Tower (Plate 8) to Major Kenneth Mason. The photograph in Plate 3 and all the sketches are by my husband. The photographs in Plates 2, 5, and 7 are by myself.

MARGARET M. HASLUCK.

PLATE I



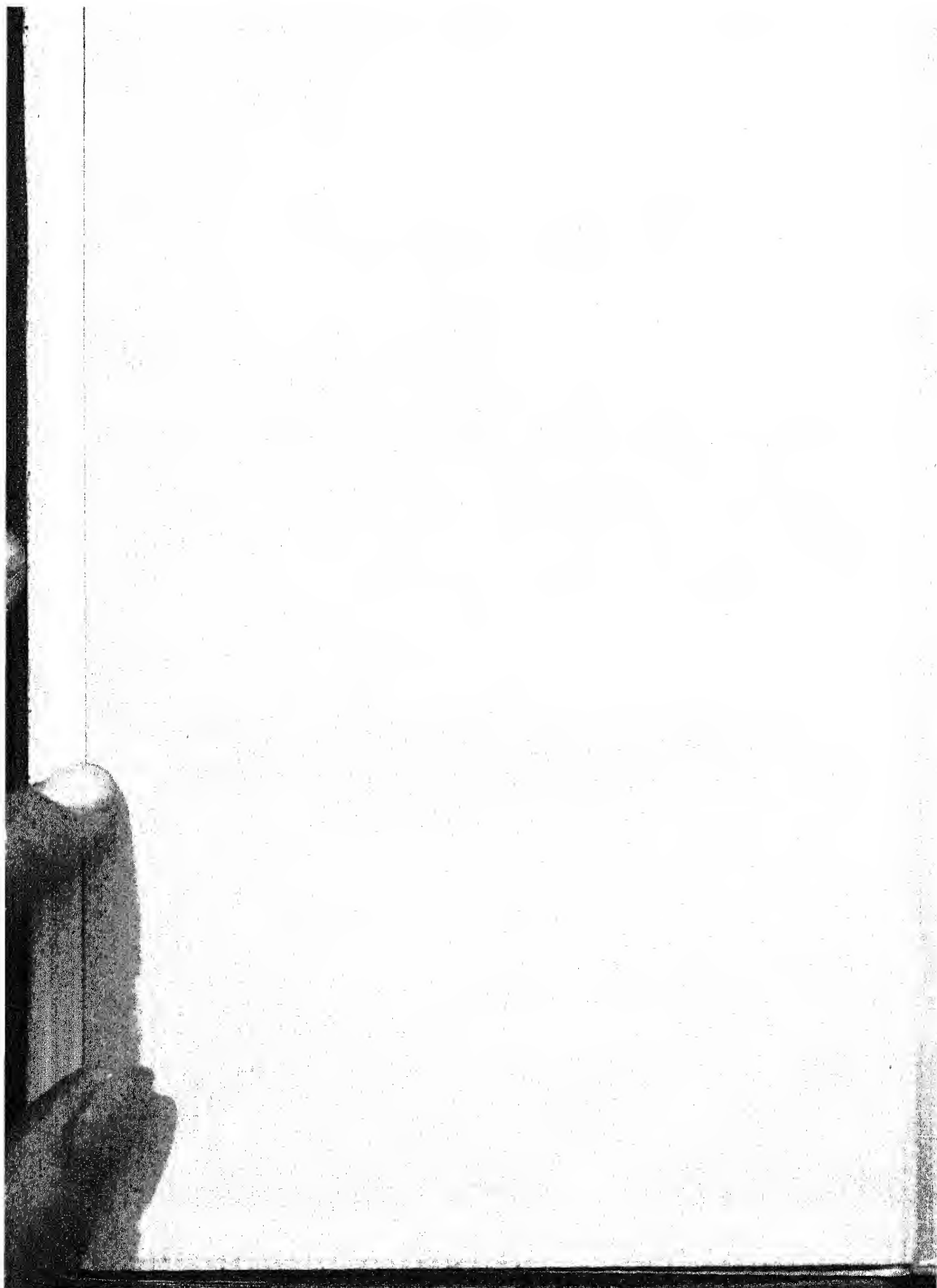
FREDERICK WILLIAM HASLUCK
AT THE AGE OF 30

Frontispiece



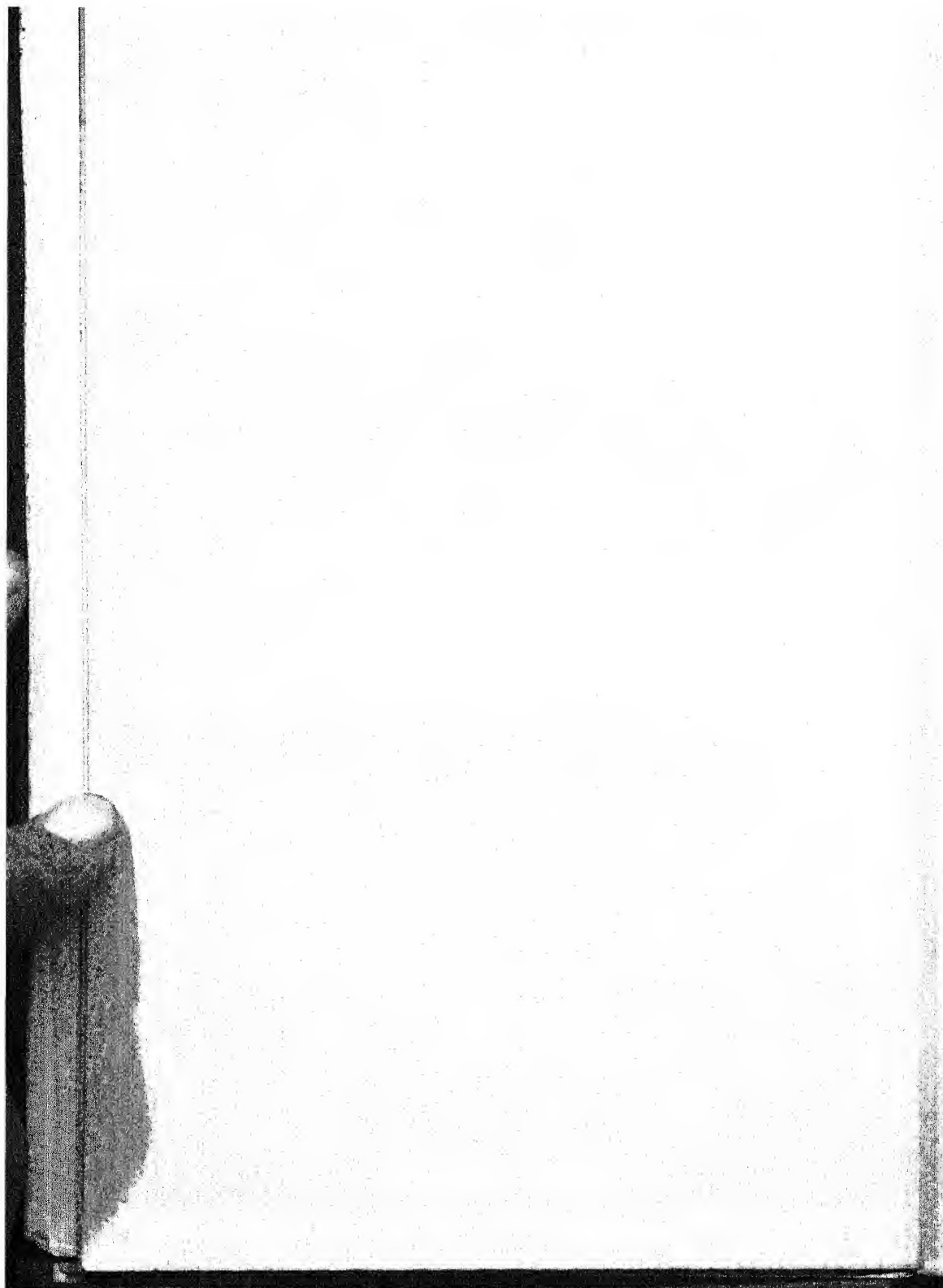
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Letters on Religion and Folklore

Athens,

28th April, 1914.

Père Delehayé¹ has been twice and thinks our library² a great improvement on the French.³ He commented on our being the only School that did non-classical stuff. I said we were "plutôt catholiques qu' orthodoxes," which pleased him (and me) not a little.

Athens,

17th May, 1914.

I have seen a copy of Evliya's travels⁴ for 40 fr. Cheap at the price, as it is a great folk-lore quarry—kind of Turk Pausanias, 1648.

Athens,

2nd January, 1915.

I am still getting quite a lot of work done one way and another & shall, I hope, be able to offer you a fine choice.⁵ This week I have got my general ideas on the renaissance of

¹ The well-known Bollandist.

² The British Archæological School's. Of this library F.W.H. was librarian from 1906 to 1915. As it was less well endowed than some of its foreign sisters, he determined to give it a *cachet* by specializing in travel books dealing with the Levant and in pamphlets by modern Greek authors on archæology and folklore. As a result, the library's travel section is far the best now in Athens, and its Modern Greek section bears comparison even with the Greek libraries.

³ French Archæological School.

⁴ Evliya Effendi, *Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, tr. von Hammer, London, 1834. See further below, p. 28.

⁵ i.e., for the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, of which Professor Dawkins was this year co-editor.

Smyrna¹ together with rather damaging results for the sages of Patmos & Aberdeen.² Also got shaped the article on the Epiphany³ ceremony, showing that it is not a rain-charm but paralleled by Armenian church doings & based on the Jordan stunt. Then a little sarcasm to say that Palestine is the origin of many of these supposed classical survivals, etc.

Athens,

1st February, 1915.

Thank you for the "Ali Pasha" paper⁴ safely received two days ago. I have much to add to it and may have more, when I go to Yannina. I am always finding out something that joins on to something else, without, I hope, growing insane. My big change of view is, I think, that Ali's part in Albania was not very big; he was rather frightened of his sheikhs' supernatural powers and appreciated their services as spies. I now think that he "came in" to a much bigger movement run by the Bektashis⁵ among the Albanian & other Rumeliote beys⁶—really an anti-reform combination, in which much more than Albania was implicated.

¹ Published in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxiii (1918-19), pp. 139-147.

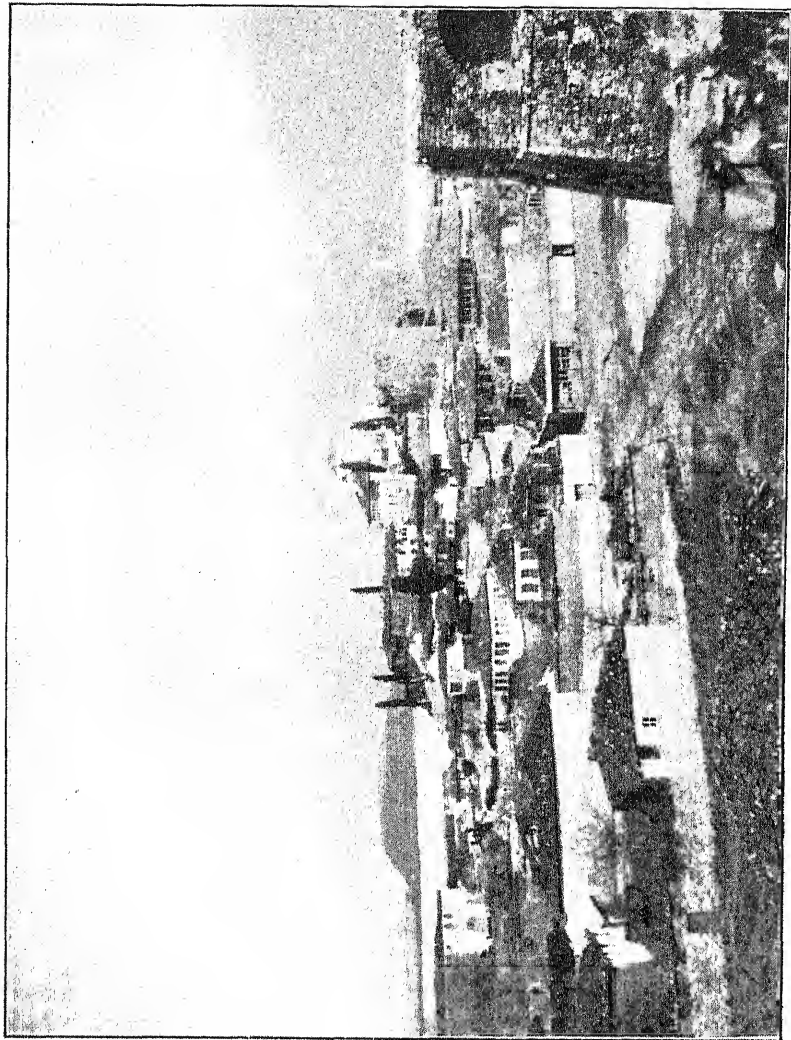
² In F.W.H.'s opinion Sir W. M. Ramsay, lately of Aberdeen University, was wrong in maintaining that Smyrna had enjoyed continuous prosperity from ancient times to our own, as Saint John, who wrote *Revelation* in the island of Patmos, had prophesied it should do.

³ To be published as chapter xxviii in F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁴ A manuscript which Professor Dawkins had been kindly storing for F.W.H. It was published as pp. 113-7 of "Ambiguous Sanctuaries and Bektashi Propaganda" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xx (1913-4). F.W.H. here refers to the well-known satrap of Epirus who was murdered at Yannina, its capital, in 1822.

⁵ Latitudinarian Moslems, whose founder was Haji Bektash. In the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, from volume xix (1912-3) onwards, F.W.H. published several articles on them, all of which, together with much new information, will be reprinted in his *Christianity and Islam*.

⁶ Squire, person of the better classes.

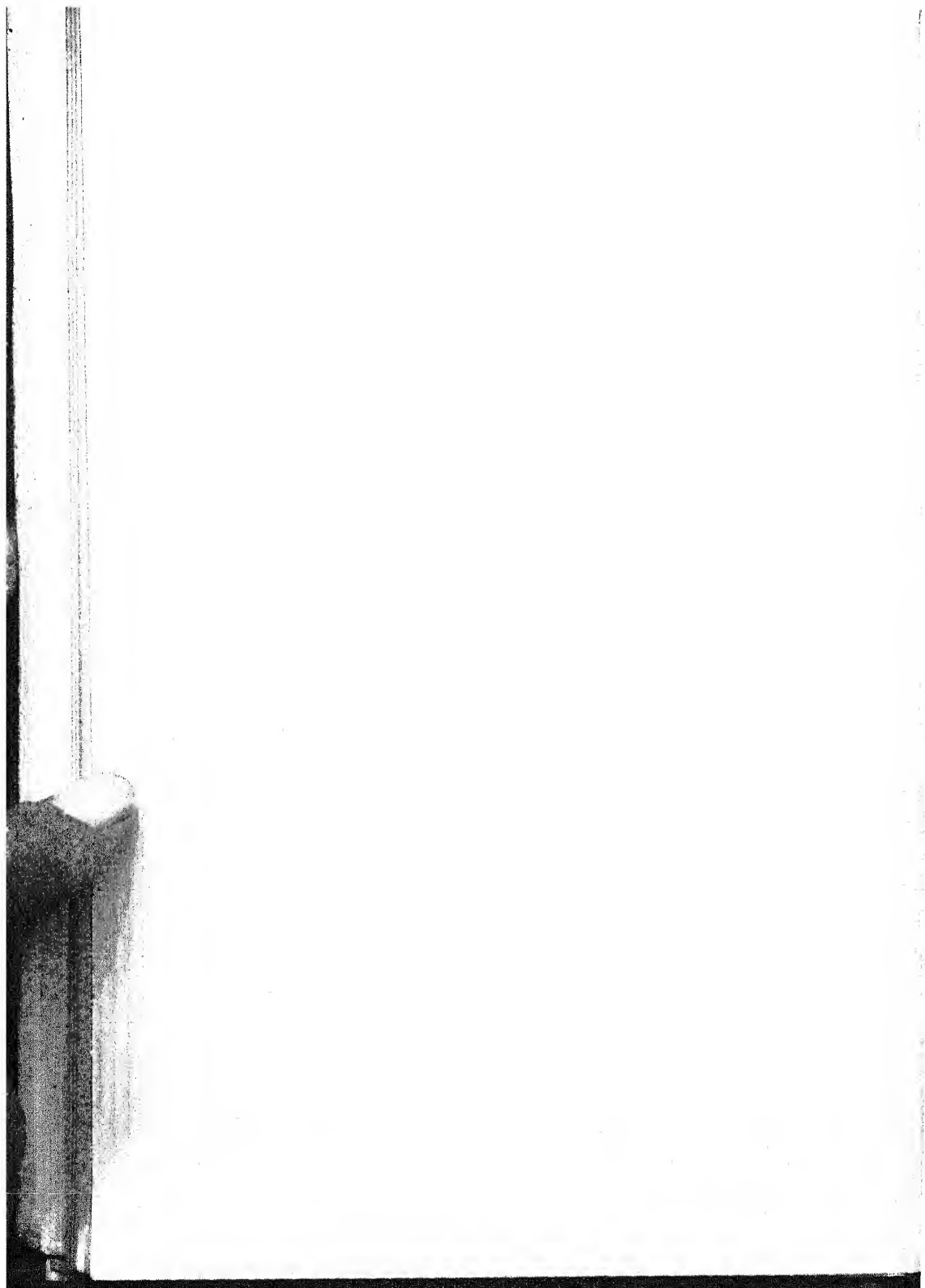


[Photograph]

YANNINA. CAPITAL OF ALI PASHA

[M.M.H.]

Face p. 2



Athens,

6th February, 1915.

The great event of the week has been the advent of Major Samson¹ of Adrianople and Edmonds² on refugee work. They will be inoculated with Bektashi *arcana* before they go back to Dindonia.³ I hope in time to have the whole Near East studded with my agents tracking down BT's.⁴

Athens,

21st February, 1915.

I went and saw the Arch. Soc.,⁵ who made no bones about my taking out the pamphlet.⁶ I find the old boy transcribed at S. Chariton's⁷ four or five 11th-13th c. inscriptions,⁸ of which one only survives. One, recording the repair of the monastery, is very interesting as giving the Patriarch, the Emperor and the Sultan in whose time it was done, and as shewing that the Seljuks allowed such things.

Athens,

28th February, 1915.

I have lately been solving the mystery of Byron's residence in Mytilene, & have found out a good deal about the eccentric Irishman⁹ who prowled the Islands and was mistaken for Byron. It is a study in history and folk-legend like the rest of my stuff.

¹ Now Lieut.-Col. Samson, C.M.G., and formerly military consul at Adrianople.

² Mr. W. S. Edmonds, now First Dragoman to the British Embassy, Constantinople.

³ From *dindon*.

⁴ Bektashi Moslems.

⁵ The Greek Archaeological Society.

⁶ Archbishop Cyril, *Περιγραφή τῆς Ἀρχαιογραφίας Ἰκονίου*, Constantinople, 1815.

⁷ A monastery near Konia: some notes on it occur in F.W.H.'s "Christianity and Islam under the Sultans of Konia," in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xix (1912-3), pp. 191-7.

⁸ To be published as chapter xxvii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁹ Colonel Rooke. F.W.H.'s results were published anonymously in an article called "Byron and Colonel Rooke," in the *Spectator*, 11th June, 1921, pp. 480-1. See also below, pp. 229-230.

Yannina,

8th March, 1915.

Things Bektashi are very flat here. They say that when the Greeks got in, the andarts¹ ran amuck & biffed the tombs, etc. Also elsewhere in this district *tekkes*² have been burned and the sect is lying low.

The situation³ (pl. 2) is very fine but the town except the citadel disappointing. We went over to the island⁴ yesterday in a boat we should have thought incredible, if we had not been to Ochrida.⁵ But here they have discovered sails, owing, I suppose, to the influence of Preveza.⁶ There are some old churches on the island and lots of roorality,⁷ which must be quite beautiful in summer.

Coming up,⁸ we saw a sacred stone⁹ at a monastery I had news of from a local pamphlet—rather a poor show, but interesting as dating from 1867.

It is here¹⁰ the fustanellaed¹¹ neomartyr George († 1838) hails from & we have seen his tomb at the metropolis¹² with frescoes of his martyrdom, etc., including his condemnation by the Vali (in uniform trowsers).¹³

It is queer to see the regulation Konak¹⁴ & barracks inhabited by Greeks, who have such respect for tradition that they have left even the broken windows intact. Bread has risen from 25 to 80 lepta¹⁵ meanwhile, so civilization has its drawbacks.

¹ Christian irregulars (from the Greek *ἀντάρτης*, *rebel*, *irregular*).

² Bektashi monasteries.

³ Of Yannina.

⁴ Where Ali Pasha was murdered in 1822.

⁵ Now in Serbian Macedonia. In 1914 it took us 7½ hours to cross the lake in the local punt, the total distance traversed being rather less than ten miles.

⁶ The seaport of Yannina.

⁷ F.W.H. disliked the country.

⁸ From Preveza.

⁹ Discussed by F.W.H. on pp. 79-80 of his "Stone Cults" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxi (1914-6).

¹⁰ Yannina.

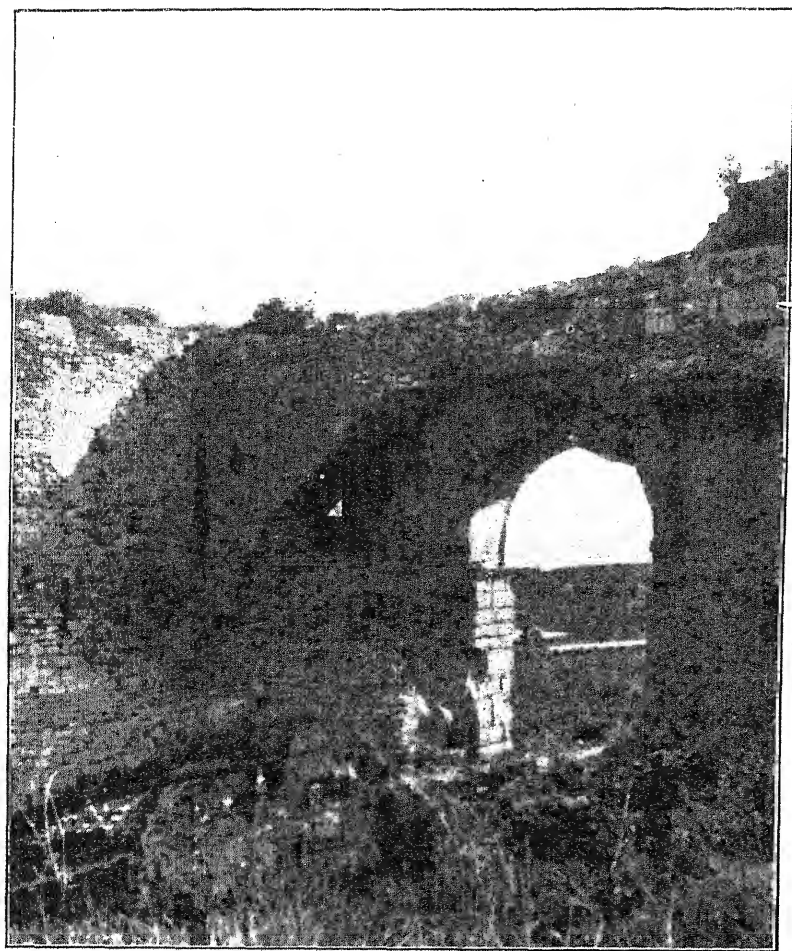
¹¹ The *fustanella* is the white kilt worn in the Southern Balkans. See below, p. 15.

¹² Cathedral church.

¹³ See also below, p. 15, and for neo-saints of the Greek church see chapter xxxv of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

¹⁴ Government house in Turkish days.

¹⁵ Centimes.



Photograph]

NIKOPOLIS, LOOKING TOWARDS ACTIUM

[F.W.H.

Face p. 4

I have called on the French consul: has been at Sivas,¹ and is quite unmoved by Bektashis. I am trying to get him to put me in touch with Bektashi circles here, as I should like to find out what has really happened to them hereabouts. I imagine they are in a very bad way and probably shy.

Preveza,

15th March, 1915.

We saw the ruins of Nikopolis² (pl. 3) coming & going; there are some fine late walls and massive Roman remains of the usual sort.

This place³ is quite beautiful in the sun. It has miles of olive groves (pl. 4) all round and of course wonderful views across the bay, which you can see without going out of town. This arrangement suits me admirably.⁴ But seriously, why do the Greeks go to arid deserts like Loutraki and Aidippos,⁵ when there are watering-places like this only waiting for their custom?

Athens,

18th March, 1915.

I have no doubt some of Dionysos *is* Indian, or that, if it wasn't, most attractive philological *rapprochements* could be found to "prove" it.⁶

¹ In a strongly Bektashi district of Asia Minor.

² Founded to commemorate the defeat of Antony in the Battle of Actium, the scene of which is close by.

³ Preveza.

⁴ F.W.H. disliked walking.

⁵ Fashionable Greek watering-places near Corinth and in Eubœa respectively.

⁶ F.W.H. was very sceptical about the value of philological arguments for archaeology.

Athens,

15th May, 1915.

In case it interests you or Halliday¹ I remark that, according to Mrs. Sykes (consul's wife), *Persia*,² p. 331, "*Divs*, demons, are supposed to be cat-headed men with horns & hoofs, and are particularly active at night." Are they ∴ different from *Devs*, who are just giants—Arab *Jebar* جابر (the wiggle-waggles are purely fanciful).³

Philip Graves⁴ has gone back to Egypt with a special mission from me to inquire into the BT's⁵ at Cairo, with whom he is already good friends.

Athens,

22nd May, 1915.

I got a pamphlet on Athos to-day for the library—*printed there* in 1863, the first I have seen. Also Papadopoulos' *Phokaika*.⁶ We are really getting very good at these things. I seldom see anything we want now.

Athens,

30th May, 1915.

The other day I got hold at the *Voule*⁷ of a curious paper, the *Prometheus* of Volo, run in the 80-90's by a monk of Athos against ecclesiastical abuses & superstition—a good deal of folklore by the way, told like *Battarisms*⁸ as things to avoid & of course no classical parallels.

¹ Professor W. R. Halliday.

² Sykes, E. C., *Persia and its People*, London, 1910.

³ F.W.H. spoke popular Turkish fluently, but refused to learn to read or write it, though he knew the alphabet. The above "wiggle-waggles" are suspiciously like "jabber."

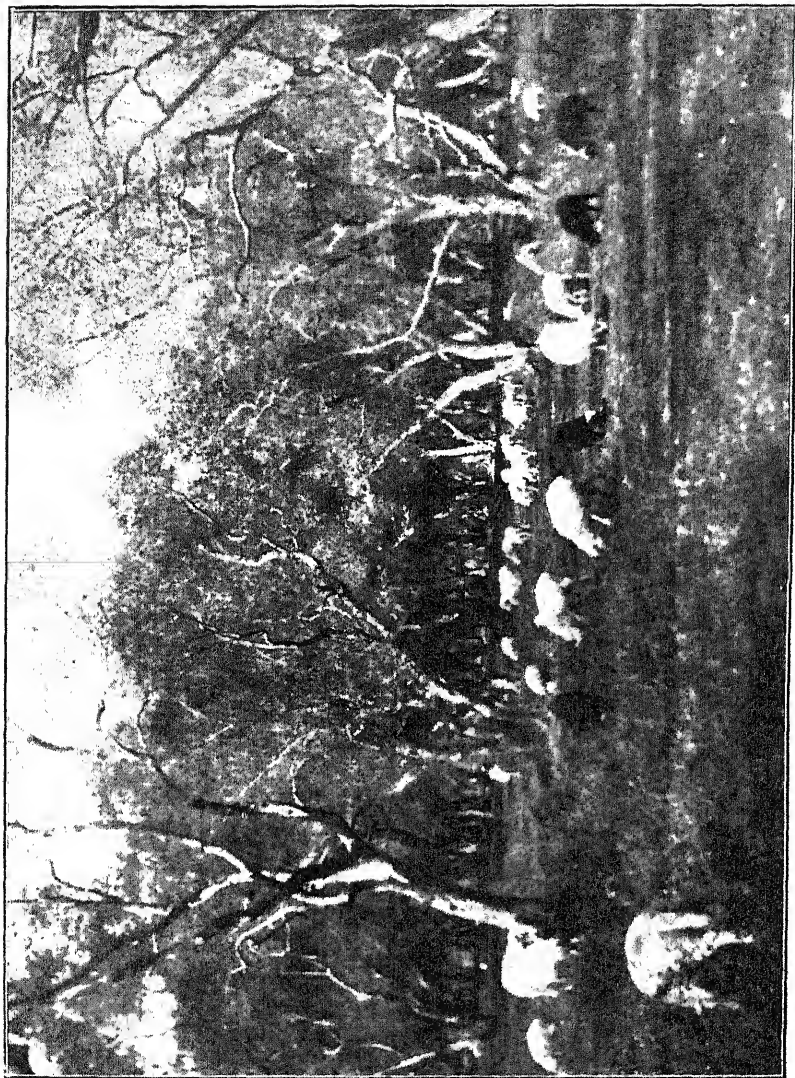
⁴ The well-known journalist.

⁵ Bektashi Moslems.

⁶ A. I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Φωκαϊκά*, Smyrna, 1878.

⁷ Parliament House Library, Athens.

⁸ *Provincialisms* (lit. *stutterings*), with special reference to the book *Βατταρισμοί, ήτοι Λεξιλόγιον τής Διεβησιανής διαλέκτου*, by M. I. Mousaion, Athens, 1880.



Photograph.

OLIVE GROVES NEAR PREVEZA

Mrs. G. W. R. M.

Page 2, 6

Koritza (Albania),

17th June, 1915.

I have come here in 11 days from Larissa, via Ellassona, Kozani, and Kastoria, and stop here as the beds are clean and there are several *tekkes*¹ in the neighbourhood. I got wet coming over from Kastoria.² I thought it would be a fine mountainous crossing, but it wasn't. Twelve hours bad horse is no joke, & there is no reason why the silly devils shouldn't have had a carriage road years ago.

This³ is a very prosperous, though squalid,⁴ town talking Albanian as its main language, and Greek a lot, too: Turkish "also runs." Kastoria (pl. 5) is very picturesque of course, with the lake and all, but extraordinarily backward for its size⁵—just a big village. Here the bazaars are much better provided.

I have visited 5 BT. *tekkes* this trip & gained a lot of information, besides improving my general ideas. As BTism⁶ is at present, the convent idea has become entirely secondary—you very rarely meet with a *tekke* containing more than one or two dervishes besides the abbot, and the *lay* side is what matters. Formerly, the convents were quite big establishments, now they are really "lodges" for the lay BT. population. All the dervishes, both here and the Macedonian side, are local or Albanian, I have struck only one Anatolian. Hereabouts the andarts⁷ have looted or destroyed most of the *tekkes*, as the BT. took the Albanian national side. They⁸ have all been very polite to me though English (of course we never talk politics⁹), and have been very willing to give me information.

¹ Bektashi monasteries, see F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, chapter xlii.

² In Macedonia.

³ i.e., Koritza.

⁴ Much improved of recent years.

⁵ Population 7,777 according to official statistics given me in 1922.

⁶ Bektashism.

⁷ Christian irregulars, see above, p. 4, n. 1.

⁸ i.e., the Bektashi dervishes.

⁹ cf. below, p. 8, n. 4.

Delvino,

24th June, 1915.

This is a rooral place 3 hrs. from SS. Quaranta,¹ whither I am being joggled in a sousta² from Argyrocastro for 6 francs. The hotel is not what you might think, but a really magnificent place with beds that threaten to be clean. Some one has been to America evidently.

I finished Bektashism at Argyrocastro, which is a magnificent place, possessing one of the few pulls-up for BT's³ that haven't been sacked or burnt by perfervid Christian patriots⁴ in search of "platchka"—which is Albanian for (1) *loot* & (2) *luggage*, whence the glossologist may draw his own inferences.

The country is absolutely quiet both on the Macedonian & the Albanian side. They don't even rag on the Albanian frontier. You can go where you like any hour of the day or night. Every one is also very poor, having been ragged during the ἀνταρτικὸς⁵ either by the Albanians⁶ or the Andarts⁷ according to religion. They also don't like Greek taxes or the price of food, due both to taxation & war in Europe. Nothing has been done in the way of public works, as they⁸ don't know whether the end of the war won't see them hove out. I certainly hope they won't be, as I consider Hellenism the best thing these poor devils⁹ can hope for, & much better than the Serbs or Bulgars would give them.

¹ Santi Quaranta is the chief port in Southern Albania.

² Springless cart.

³ A photograph of this Bektashi *tekke* appeared on Pl. xiii of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxi (1914-6).

⁴ Argyrocastro town is almost entirely Mohammedan. One of its important Bektashi monasteries was, as a matter of fact, in 1915 in the hands of the Greek army and its lawful occupants refugees in the town, as I learned in 1923. This was concealed from F.W.H., probably because the excellence of his Modern Greek had made the population believe him to be a Greek agent, another fact I learned in 1923.

⁵ i.e., the period of guerilla outrages after the Balkan Wars. I think F.W.H. invented the word from ἀντάρτης, *irregular* (above, p. 4, n. 1).

⁶ i.e., Moslem Albanians, these forming three-fourths of the total population of Albania.

⁷ Christian irregulars.

⁸ i.e., the Greek authorities in possession of Epirus in 1915.

⁹ The Albanians. After the flight of Prince William of Wied the idea of forming an independent Albania fell into abeyance for a time.



Photograph

KASTORIA

[M.M.H.]

Face p. 8

This side every one speaks Albanian (most some Greek & some Turkish as well) but avoid writing anything.¹ The Mussulmans are called Turks and the Christians² Greeks: of course there is neither Greek nor Turk in this place. As for Macedonia, I hate the rascals, can't talk about anything but money, and do you five times over one job.³ But I had one *agoyat*,⁴ who was really amusing. He told me lots of folklore, including an entirely new kind of vampire called *Niam-Niam soi*, which he has seen. You know it because (1) it is excessively fond of liver & (2) has donkey's teeth & (3) large feet.

Corfu,

30th June, 1915.

It is quite true that the BT's come here to visit S. Spyridon⁵ & bring him sheep⁶ & what not. They also "open the saint," i.e., take the lid off him (at a price of course), & kiss his sacerdotal toe & the little window in front of his face.

I have had much talk these days with two old buffers who paint (rather badly) *eikons*, & I now know quite a lot about how they set to work.⁷ I have also tracked down a rare type

¹ This alludes to the general illiteracy of the Epirotes and may have been suggested by the lack even of an alphabet of the Albanian language. Naim Bey Frasheri in the eighties of last century compiled one in Roman characters, but that proving unwieldy, Faik Bey Konitza shortly after the Balkan Wars improved it into the version which has now become standard throughout Albania.

² This popular confusion in nomenclature between race and religion has notoriously often misled writers on the Balkans.

³ This is perhaps harsh. F.W.H.'s memories of Macedonia were coloured by the sleepless nights he had spent there; he was unfortunate enough to have travelled at the height of the vermin season.

⁴ Muleteer.

⁵ The great saint of Corfu. Hitherto F.W.H. had heard only vaguely that the Bektashis visited this saint as one of their own.

⁶ For *qurban*.

⁷ They employ pricked designs, dusting them on to prepared surfaces in the same way as women transfer embroidery patterns.

of Panayia,¹ which has given rise to considerable discussion. I have done my duty, too, by the Gorgon & her dig.² She would have been quaint on the scale of the Sparta ivories; colossal, she is merely hideous.

At SS. Quaranta³ I went up a very high & perspirations hill—always greatly against my principles—to see what the church of the SS. 40 was like. I found a ruin, preserved to the springs of the vaults, nearly 30 *m.* long and of most peculiar plan⁴ (pl. 6). I think Justinian or thereabouts, not later; one of the big experimental churches you don't find much later than Just. and more closely connected with the Roman things before than the Byz. things after. Altogether rather a find,

¹ According to F.W.H.'s notebook on Corfu this is the Virgin carrying a crucifix, the original picture being in the church of the Prophet Elias at Palaio polis in Corfu. It is only about 2 feet by 1 foot 6 inches, and all but the faces are covered by a silver gilt plaque in fairly high relief and of good workmanship. The scheme is Byzantine, but the Virgin's face, delineated by surfaces and not merely lines, bears traces of Italian influence. The softness of its expression also is Italian. The church is very humble and seems to have been Roman Catholic.

² See Versakes in *Πρακτικά*, 1911, pp. 164-204; cf. p. 60.

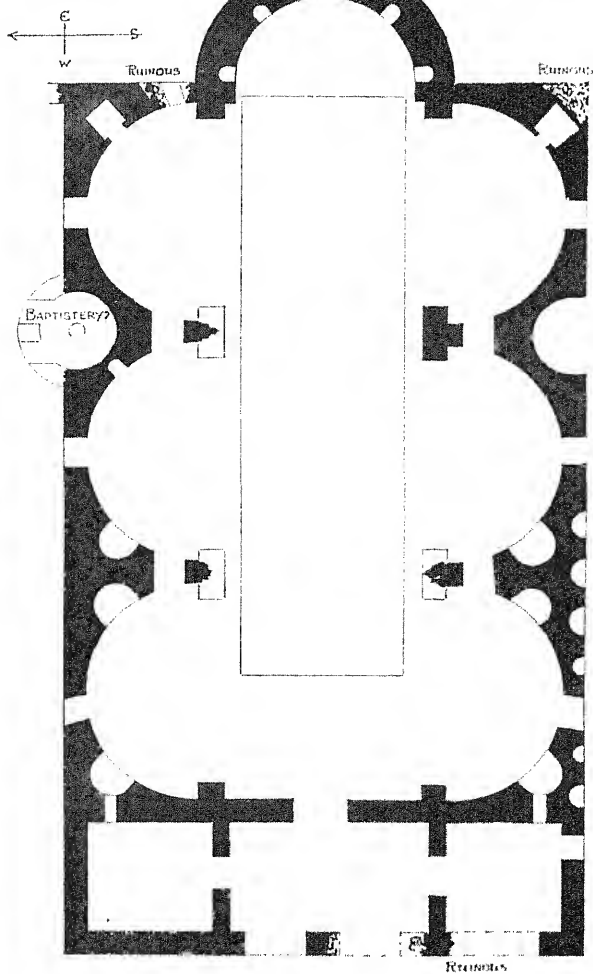
³ See above, p. 8, n. 1.

⁴ The drawing in Plate 6 has been compiled by Mr. A. E. Henderson from a sketch by F.W.H. in 1915 and measurements by myself in 1923. It is not known when the church was built or first destroyed. As Leake (*Travels in Northern Greece*, London, 1835, i, 11) states that only the ruined church survived in his day, it may be assumed that the modern church, which is denoted by the unbroken rectangle in our plans, was built subsequently to his visit: this church was in its turn destroyed during the insurrection of Albanian Christians in 1878 (Lafont, *Trois Mois de Chasse en Albanie*, pp. 96-9). Leake was told that the original church had formed part of a monastery and Aravantinos (*Χρονογραφία της Ἡπείρου*, Athens, 1856, ii, 3-4) that it had had forty side-chapels, one for each martyr. There exist, however, too few ruins other than the church for either tradition to be probable. Leake (*loc. cit.*) says the original church was roofed with three large domes and seven half-domes. The abrupt fall of the ground prevented me from measuring the external niches of the north wall, but they seemed to correspond to those on the south. The four piers are ruinous with the exception of that to the south-east. The walls are pierced by two ranges of windows, all with curiously twisted arches. On the north side F.W.H.'s sketch suggests a baptistery with a built column of brick in the centre. The usual material of the church is local stone, but bricks are used in the arches over the niches and doorways and very sparingly elsewhere. Numerous underground chambers exist, all vaulted, as far as I remember: two have their walls decorated with badly weathered frescoes of saints and seem to have been chapels. No light from outside penetrates, and therefore thousands of bats, rendering exploration extremely disagreeable, have made their home there. In the interests of knowledge it is much to be regretted that the Italians, during their occupation of South Albania, quartered troops in the church, and, besides squaring and cementing some windows, cemented the floor for their benefit.

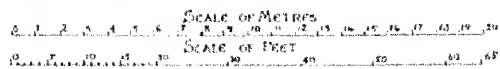
PLATE 6

CHURCH OF
FORTY SAINTS

SS. QUARANTA



TRACES OF PORTICO



AT SANTI QUARANTA

Face p. 10



and when I can (" after the war ") get a clever young gentleman with a tape-measure,¹ I shall go again.

Athens,

23rd August, 1915.

I never see anybody now, nor want to: office takes 9-1 and 2-7.² I have an hour to go to the School and bath, then dinner & to bed at once.

Athens,

26th September, 1915.

I have been working out the Kizilbash religion³ lately, putting side by side all notices of it under headings.⁴ I can do more than most with it, as I am the only person, as far as I can make out, who has the key of the relation between the KB. and BT.⁵ I haven't this *all* yet, but no one before had any. And it is very interesting.

Athens,

8th October, 1915.

I have got quite a lot of work done lately in spare time, as things have been a bit slack. If things were normal, I would have the " Transference " article⁶ out at once. It is a small book now, and, though some sections have oozed into articles, I

¹ F.W.H.'s idea was to find an architectural student of the British School at Athens, who would collaborate with him in drawing and describing the church, as Mr. H. H. Jewell had done in their monograph on *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates at Paros* (London, 1920).

² F.W.H. ceased to be Librarian of the British School at the end of June, 1915, and then entered the Intelligence Department of the British Legation, which is the office to which he alludes. His chief, now Lieutenant-Colonel Samson, C.M.G., wished him to work shorter hours, but he declined the offered privilege. His health had since January caused me great anxiety.

³ Found in Asia Minor, especially east of Angora.

⁴ To be published in chapter xii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁵ Kizilbash and Bektashi. F.W.H.'s idea was that the name Kizilbash is applied to all the Shias in Asia Minor and that the term Bektashi denotes Kizilbash who have joined that Order of dervishes.

⁶ Part I of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam* in its present form.

find little to add to it. I am, to be frank, *very* pleased still with the "ambiguous cults" article,¹ and think it of some general interest & value, though I suppose the form is unprepossessing.

I remember the bronze cannon at Malta,² they are nice solid anticas & I would collect them, if they were more portable! Do you know the key of Patras is in the big church, r. (S.)³ of the altar, I think. There must have been a lot of fine things there⁴ before Nap. ragged the place.⁵

See if "S. Paul's earth"⁶ is still obtainable in Malta: people must know, even if you don't go there.

For the Finlay⁷ I have got a queer little "History of Souli," printed at Venice in 1815 by a man who only dared sign it in cipher, having been in with Rhigas⁸. I have never seen it before.

Athens,

18th October, 1915.

I am in rather a backwater as regards my work. There seems so little chance of publishing, there isn't much stimulus, though I am not averse of fame, as you know. Anyway you can't do much on a day a week.⁹

¹ Published as "Ambiguous Sanctuaries and Bektashi Propaganda" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xx (1913-4), pp. 93-122. It deals with sanctuaries frequented by both Christians and Bektashis.

² Professor Dawkins was now in Malta.

³ i.e., right (South).

⁴ Malta.

⁵ The allusion is to Napoleon Bonaparte's capture of the town in 1798 on his way to Egypt.

⁶ In the Middle Ages Maltese earth from the cave of S. Paul near Città Vecchia was used to cure small-pox, fevers, and reptile bites: see p. 228 of F.W.H.'s "Terra Lemnia" published in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xvi (1909-10).

⁷ George Finlay, the historian, left his books to the British School at Athens, which keeps them as a separate collection.

⁸ A Greek patriot who was killed in 1798: see further F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v.

⁹ Office work taking up the rest of his time.

Athens,

20th October, 1915.

Every one is so eager to believe in picturesque survivals. Even X¹ saw the other day S. Spyridon² *must* be (why?) a survival of Alcinous: i.e., that every cult in a given radius *must* be a survival of every other in that radius. This is, well—

Athens,

5th November, 1915.

Candidly, and to you, I admit that I am in spite of all *much* more interested in my work than the war, though I know my work makes no difference & the war or its outcome every difference. But I could as well be *interested* in the plague. The other day a man turned up & I asked him if there were any BT's about in his part. He told me one of *the* things I wanted to know. It upset me & unsettled me for half a day and filled my mind to the detriment of what I was doing. Also I hate the war so much that my grief at Greece not joining in is really conventional. I am not a frantic Philhellene,³ but I don't want any more small nations devastated, and that's what this war means: bad enough for us, but heaps worse for small peoples without resources.

Athens,

28th May, 1916.

I have been ruminating about these villages of yours⁴ and it seems to me they must all have been like Misti once, troglodytic, endogamic, & nevergooutic. Then in the xvii-xviii c's. you get several places bucked up into towns by pashas and people, like Arabsun, Nevshehr, and Injesu⁵—I imagine prim-

¹ The name is suppressed for obvious reasons.

² See above, p. 9, n. 5.

³ That is, he was unwilling to accept blindly the Greek point of view every time in Balkan politics.

⁴ The curious Cappadocian villages described by Professor R. M. Dawkins in his *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*. Misti is one of them.

⁵ Cf. p. 319 of F.W.H.'s "Heterodox Tribes" in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, li (1921).

arily to settle the Turkomans¹ by giving them markets. If you have markets, you must have Christians (or Jews) for middlemen, & in this way I expect the Cappadogs were gradually encouraged to extend operations to Consple., i.e., first handling butter & cheese & pasdurma² locally, then sending to CP., and finally handling it in CP., as they still do.

Did I tell you I had more or less fixed the real date of S. John the Russian (of Urgub)³? Kinneir in 1813 found lots of Russian prisoners at Yuzgat (evidently from the war of 1807-8), many of whom had renegaded & *liked it*. This is what S. John didn't do of course. I am wondering if the descendants of these same Russian renegades are the "survivals of the ancient Galatians"⁴ noticed by many eminent travellers in this district ???

Athens,

3rd July, 1916.

Week-days 5 hours' work & lunch on top does for me pretty completely. I am feeling the heat much more than last year—perhaps because there is more of it.⁵

Athens,

21st July, 1916

I made the acquaintance to-day of an Albanian deputy from Konitza⁶ I had long wished to meet, though he wasn't, as I half expected, a BT. As usual in the Bey class thereabouts, the last generation *was*, and the younger men have grown out of it. His brother,⁷ though, who is also well known, became

¹ A type of nomad Turk, see pp. 324-7 of F.W.H.'s "Heterodox Tribes."

² A well-known Turkish dish ("jerked beef").

³ A full discussion of this saint occurs in F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, chapter xxxiii.

⁴ The allusion is to one of Sir W. M. Ramsay's theories, see below, p. 29.

⁵ F.W.H. was seriously ill by this time; a doctor's mistakenly reassuring diagnosis in the previous September had prevented adequate treatment being given him.

⁶ Mehmed Bey Konitza, from Konitza in Epirus.

⁷ Faik Bey Konitza.

initiated as a scoffer and was converted by initiation—I should think a rare case. It is curious how people always think you are trying to get at the “secrets” of the BT’s, which candidly interest me very little.

Athens,

13th August, 1916.

I am collecting material on Neomartyrs,¹ which comes out very interesting, as a sidelight on that curious Græco-Turkish life amongst other things, and I will be able to digress on several things amusing to me. Did I ever tell you that curious thing about S. George of Yannina,² how there are two types of the saint hanging, one in drawers (local) and one in a loincloth (Athos)? Similarly, in one of the Passion scenes the Vali at Yannina wears military trowsers *alla franca*, in the Athos copperplate he is quite classical.³ And in the Athos copperplate you can see that they have drawn in S. George’s fez⁴ & then thought better of it & biffed it out again. It is really rather wonderful how the poor man managed to keep his fustanella, but it has evidently made his fortune.

Athens,

27th August, 1916

I have got the *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον* lent me by the Βουλή⁵. I want to go right through it, as I am not sure whether the BM. has it: probably, however, Geo. III or some equally inappropriate person collected the Venice edition.⁶

¹ To appear as chapter xxxv in *Christianity and Islam*.

² See above, p. 4.

³ i.e., dressed in baggy Turkish trousers.

⁴ Formerly even the Christians of the Turkish Empire wore fezzes.

⁵ Parliament House Library, Athens.

⁶ The *Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον* was published at Venice in 1799, and at Athens in 1856. F.W.H. made use of its material on Greek martyrs in chapter xxxv of his *Christianity and Islam*.

I think you would find the language interesting, especially the vocab. Of course, they are dead nuts on clichés, but as the whole thing was for not very learned people & was written by clerics not much better, you find curious lapses. I do not think, for instance, you will find in L. & S. the orthodox-looking verb *κονεύω*¹ : unfortunately it means "to encamp," which gives away its origin.

Athens,

4th October, 1916.

Our translator² is a wonder, born Kozani³ way & most unlike anything Greek I have met, both in appearance and ways. Has been over most of Turkey (as far as Djeddah & Kerbela) as govt. doctor & has remembered apparently everything he has seen.

About the Kizilbashes he told the usual yarn, only with more detail, about their promiscuity *séances*.⁴ This one hears everywhere, & it is generally discounted. The argument against is that no one has ever come across a KB. village with a house big enough for the entertainment in question. I produced this, & he said he had come across it in a (named) village⁵ between Eski Shehr & Kutahia. I am very much more inclined to accept the yarn than I was, though the promiscuity business has been said of every religion which has secret meetings of both sexes.

¹ From Turkish *konak* = *bivouac, lodging*, and eventually *house*, especially of the local governor : cf. below, p. 218. F.W.H. here refers to the perfectly intelligible, but frequently exaggerated, efforts of Greek writers to deny the Turkish origin of some Modern Greek words.

² In the office.

³ In W. Macedonia. The translator was typically "Macedonian" and therefore as unlike the Serbs or Bulgars as he was unlike the Greeks. Details of this "Macedonian" type will appear in my own book.

⁴ See pp. 338-9 of F.W.H.'s "Heterodox Tribes in Asia Minor" in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, lxi (1921).

⁵ F.W.H. apparently made no note of the name.

Athens,

24th November, 1916.

Wace¹ gave me the inscr. on Mme. Melas'² plate (Rhodian)³ to decipher and *I got it*. It is a tag from the service for admitting novices to monkhood, chopped off short. I suppose you have seen the plate? It must have baffled many in its time. I think it must have been one of a set presented to a monastery, perhaps they had the whole service running on from plate to plate! The inscr. is something like this: πατρικὰς ἀγκάλας ἀνοίξαι μὴ (sic) σπεῦσον ἀσώτως τὸν ἐμὸν 1666 and the service goes on βίον διήνυσα⁴ *vel sim*. It was rather a good spot, based on my knowing that the "prodigal son's return" was the figure used in the service, so when I saw πατρικὰς ἀγκάλας and ἀσώτως I wined a connection and went to the Εὐχολόγιον⁵.

Koukoulis⁶ came here the other day after some references in my Konstantinata article. He has found a letter or something of the Komneni period, in which the writer says: "I am sending you a very good amulet, a coin of Constantine. It has Const. & Helen on one side & on the other Christ & some Latin letters I cannot read." Please note that the earliest Byz. *solidi* (with type of 2 emperors divided by cross) cited by me⁷ as supposed coins of Constantine have rev. Christ enthroned & legend XRS Rex Regnantium.

¹ Mr. A. J. B. Wace, at this time Director of the British School, Athens.

² Madame Paul Melas, widow of the famous Greek patriot.

³ For the so-called "Rhodian" pottery see below, p. 229.

⁴ P. 190 of the *Μέγα Εὐχολόγιον* (Venice, 1898). The words are Ἀγκάλας πατρικὰς, διανοίξαι μοι σπεῦσον ἀσώτως τὸν ἐμὸν, κατηνάλωσα βίον, Hasten to open Thy fatherly arms unto me. Prodigally I spent my life.

⁵ Greek service-book.

⁶ The Greek archaeologist of that name.

⁷ P. 2 of F.W.H.'s "Constantinata" in *Essays Presented to William Ridgeway*.

Mornex, Haute Savoie,¹

27th January, 1917.

I find in one of your old letters reference to the word ἔμβολος : isn't this really ἔμβολον, of which the root meaning is, I suppose, *projection*, whence *cape* like Kara Burnu,² and ultimately *warehouse*, *fondaco*, which occurs in descriptions of C.P. I imagine it is a word like *scala*,³ meaning first *jetty*, and then extended to the warehouses alongside, consequently corresponding to MG. μαγαζί.

I can't help thinking Turkey is off for you and me; they will never be able to clear up the mess, unless the Rooshians take it. Then there might be an interlude, before the R. got suspicious of us again, during which one might travel with security & distinction, accompanied by several cossacks, moujiks & dvorniks in their picturesque national costumes. Really, I anticipate years of famine and depopulation in Asia Minor as the result of the war, and that will probably mean communications off the railways both difficult and dangerous : there was heaps of brigandage after that great famine of the '76's.

Mornex,

3rd February, 1917.

I found out in Corfu that the reason the *eikons* of the Seven Sleepers⁴ were uniformly small house-pictures & never seen in churches was that they were regarded as a sleep-charm! Since then, I have found that the Εὐχολόγειον⁵ warrants this, as containing a prayer for sleepless persons called the "Prayer of the Seven Sleepers."

¹ In November, 1916, a doctor found F.W.H. tubercular and sent us to Switzerland. Owing to the German invasion which then threatened that country, we were officially advised to remain in France for some time, and therefore settled in Mornex, a small village of Haute Savoie.

² Near Salonica.

³ Murray's *Hand-Book for Constantinople*, London, 1900, p. 27, is interesting on this point.

⁴ They figure in both Turkish and Greek religious stories. The geographical distribution of their legend is fully discussed in F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, chapter xx.

⁵ Greek service-book.

A thing I have been investigating for some time is the promotion of evil eye charms to relics, thus :—You hang up, say, a large boot or a whale's bone against the Evil Eye. Then this line of thought becomes obscured, and people attribute the boot or bone to a giant saint. Finally, they find or invent his grave, & the boot or bone is proof he is genuine and is venerated as a relic.¹ This certainly *has* happened. I wonder whether "Leda's egg" (at Sparta, I think) had this development; ostrich eggs have always been good charms, and you know how people *will* talk about ladies who produce unauthorized twins.

Re the Rhodian plate.² My idea is certainly that the plate was one of a set made for, & dedicated to, a convent. It would be quite a thing to truffle out some more pieces from the same set and see whether the (dinner!) service was continued or what. It is funny the sentence should be so cut off, unless the maker was quite illiterate & copied blindly as much as he could get in from a pattern.

Mornex,

13th February, 1917.

I am trying the Bible! And find many curious things in it, even outside the Revelation and Daniel's prophecies. Yesterday, *e.g.*, I discovered that Daniel and the 3 children were really "ajemoglans"³ at the Sublime Porte of Nebuchadnezzar—it must be a very old system, that rounding up promising captive lads for the civil service—and would do well in modern Austria.

Willie Whittall⁴ met a man (Turk) who had been "pixy-led" by an "army of jinns" and came to himself with his clothes all torn to pieces a long way from the starting-point.

¹ Further details in F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, chapter xv.

² See above, p. 17.

³ Some notes on the *ajemoglans* at the court of the early Turkish Sultans will be found in F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, chapter xl ("Haji Bektash and the Janissaries").

⁴ A well-known resident of Constantinople.

Mornex,

9th March, 1917.

I have got from the local library A. Lebraz, "Aux Pays des Pardons,"¹ which, though prone to wallow at length in rooralities, contains a great deal of interesting stuff and makes me want to go to Brittany again. He describes at length 5 notable religious festivals, giving first the legends & then his own experiences & descriptions of the places. They told him point-blank S. Anne was a Breton, a queen, and a duchess, evidently confusing her with Anne de Bretagne,² who is remembered vaguely in tradition. S. Anne got to Palestine on a magic ship.

I have also P. Saintyves "Les Vierges Mères."³ It is simply excellent. Unlike some others he knows when to stop & allows civilization, as opposed to the rampant nigger, to have its say. Curiously, though he takes very little notice of the Mohammedan side, he has a ref. to your man Radloff.⁴ I was staggered to find Russian Asia has been studied from this point of view so early as 1866.

Mornex,

25th April, 1917.

My chief reading now is a rather good Dict. of Hist. and Geog.⁵ done in the 50's-60's, in which (e.g.) Mercury, Abinadab, & Charles I are all given equal treatment, except that Abinadab as biblical is perhaps a little favoured. The clerical bias of the work is brought out by the statement that Voltaire, though no slouch at epics, was not so good in that line as Homer

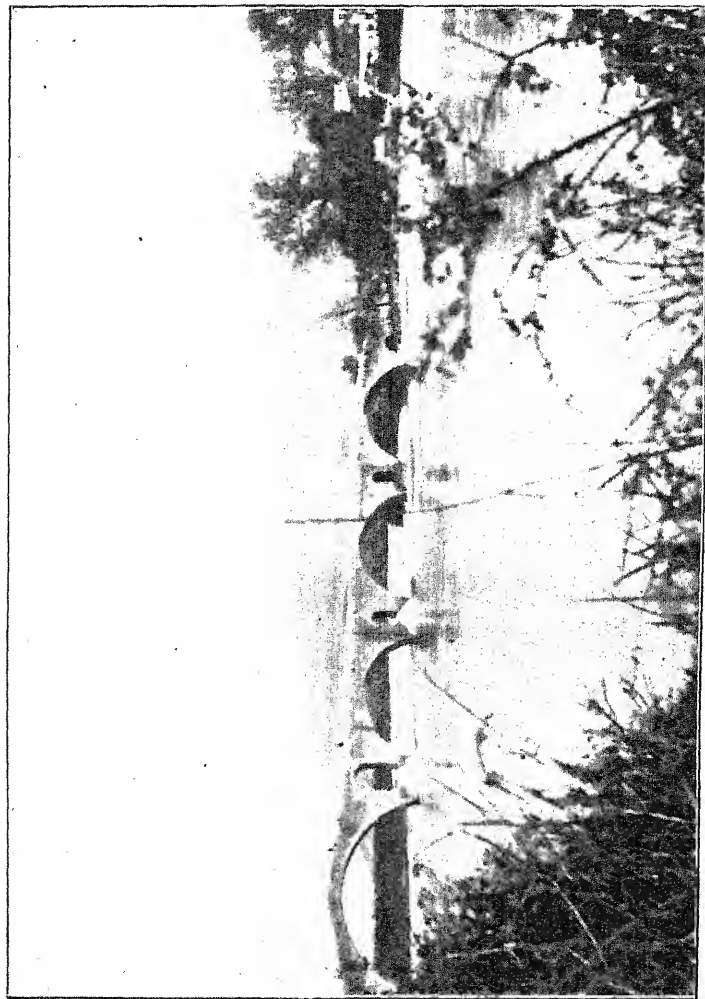
¹ Paris, 1894.

² 1476-1514.

³ Paris, 1908.

⁴ P. 228: the reference is to Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der Türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, St. Petersburg, 1866-86.

⁵ M. N. Bouillet, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie*, Paris, 1856-63.



Photograph]

THE BRIDGE OF ARTA

[M.M.H.

Face p. 20

Mornex,

5th May, 1917.

Re your dated chest,¹ cypress chests are mentioned as one of the good things they did in Crete, I am nearly sure in Casola's *Pilgrimage*, 1492²; if not, in other pilgrimages of similar date. I suppose they made clothes smell sweet. But are they still made of the same wood, I wonder?

I came across "ezderha" several times in Evliya's *Travels*³ but it was not clear what it was like—evidently an "extremely" snake, as Bagge would say.

Did I tell you that Protestant Geneva has in its cathedral a chapel of the Maccabees? I suppose there were relics once, but it seems odd.

Tile inscriptions in the walls of CP. are always difficult, even when entire, and very perishable into the bargain. Van M.⁴ had curious limitations: all the wall inscriptions would do with re-editing, I think; they have not been done since C.I.G., and Grégoire,⁵ I suppose, doesn't touch them, as he was only concerned with Asia Minor. You can always get something new out of a series of inscriptions

Mornex,

20th May, 1917.

Have you noticed ever in bridges and other arches a stone boss (hemi-spherical) let in or carved on the keystone? I suppose these were originally evil eye charms. In the episode of the Bridge of Arta (pl. 7) yarn⁶ (some versions), you remember, the heroine suckles her child after she has been walled up.

¹ Dowry chests, often richly carved, are much sought "anticas" in the Levant.

² Ed. M. M. Newett, 1907.

³ See above, p. 1, n. 4.

⁴ Van Millingen: the allusion is to his *Byzantine Constantinople: the Walls*, London, 1899.

⁵ Professor Henri Grégoire.

⁶ The story is one of the commonest in Greece. The bridge, when in course of erection, keeps falling down, and in desperation the master-mason, to stabilize it, vows to wall up in it the first human being to approach. This turns out to be his own wife. See further Polites, *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ Βίου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Λαοῦ*, ii, 774-6.

Do you think this comes from the likeness of these bosses to breasts, perhaps aided by the white lime "sweating," as it often does, out of the mortar? I shouldn't be surprised, if this is at the back of that rather horrid person *Μονοβύζα*,¹ who figures in N. Greek (Epirus) folklore, but there is probably more in her, & I suspect *Βυζάνα*² is there for something,³ but I can't get at its meaning, nor do I know what language it is, not Albanian, as far as I can find out. Does it occur elsewhere than at Yannina⁴?

Mornex,

31st May, 1917.

Can you tell me what "S. Maria in Cosmedin"⁵ means? Baedeker⁶ is mad, & obscure at that, and it is so familiar in sound that one feels a fool not to know.

Do you know those medals or pendants you often see in jewellers' shops abroad with ϕ S. George, S. GEORGIUS EQUITUM PATRONUS, & R a ship IN TEMPESTATE SECURITAS? I suppose they have a long pedigree behind them & were originally charms against mishap travelling by land or sea. But I don't know the prototype, do you? It is curious that our George Noble of Hy. 8⁷ has these two types, but I don't know its history. Comes in also that the coins of Mansfeld (dollars⁸ of S. George type) are very frequently fitted with a ring for suspension. It would be a nice job to make the "Constantinata" article⁹ a more general discussion of charm coins.

¹ Literally "The One-Breasted."

² The heights of *Βυζάνι* (Vizani) guard Yannina to the South, and were the scene of much hard fighting between the Turks and Greeks during the Siege of Yannina in the First Balkan War (1912-3).

³ i.e., there is confusion in the popular mind between the mountain *Βυζάνι* and the verb *βυζάνα*, which means *she suckles*.

⁴ See e.g. Polites, *op. cit.* i, p. 65, no. 124 and notes.

⁵ See below, p. 159, and n. 7.

⁶ In *Central Italy* (1909), pp. 322-4. F.W.H. now began to plan the essay on "Round Temple and Round Church," which is printed below, pp. 233-243.

⁷ Henry VIII.

⁸ For many years F.W.H. collected mediæval and later European dollars, most of which he bequeathed to the British Museum.

⁹ See above, p. 17, n. 7.

Mornex,

4th June, 1917.

My way, so far as I have one, is to get books into notebooks, then digest notes or references or extracts by subjects, & get a kind of shape out: this rough draft I keep and add to as, or if, things turn up. I expect this is more or less how you¹ go to work, too, and I expect everyone else who is working out main ideas from details more or less, however good: e.g. Frazer would use it in the GB., not in "Psyche's task," or not nearly so much. French work is generally *an idea*, or something in the essay style, ideas rather than facts, in its nature more readable than argument and reinforced by good technique. How Ridgeway goes to work I simply cannot think.

My reading has been curious lately,² mostly the Dictionary of Hist. & Geog.,³ from which I have learnt a lot. A curious thing I ran across was that the "briquets" in the collar of the Golden Fleece⁴ were supposed to be also B's for Burgundy (they have the form (1)). I imagine this was an afterthought. You will remember it fits on to Svoronos' interpretation of the four B's and cross of Palæologi⁵ [σταυρὴ βασιλέως βασιλέων βασιλεῖ βοήθει.⁶ This is perfectly paralleled by the Serbian



(1)



(2)



(3)



(4)



(5)

arms (which are those of Palæologi) interpreted as four S's, the initials of a patriotic motto.⁷ The Palæologi B's are

¹ i.e., Professor Dawkins.

² Because Mornex has no library, public or private.

³ See above, p. 20, n. 5.

⁴ Instituted by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in 1429.

⁵ The arms are a cross between four *briquets*, gold on red.

⁶ *Cross of the King of Kings, help the King.* Svoronos' article is in the *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*, ii (1899), pp. 363 ff. F.W.H. gives this and other references in n. 2, p. 265 of his "Monuments of the Gattelusi," in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xv (1908-9).

⁷ The Palaeologus arms were taken by the royal house of Serbia on the marriage of Stephan Dushan with a Byzantine princess. They are now shewn as four S's, forming the device SAMO SLOGA SRBINA SPASAVA (*only unity the Serbs shall save*), which is referred to the union of the Serbs against the Turks.

known by a text¹ to have been "briquets" in the first instance. At CP.² they take the form (2) or if convenient (3): the Serbs prefer the (4) form. In both cases we have to do with variants of the common Balkan firesteel³ (query, whether spread by gypsy smiths from the E. to Europe?).

Argentières,⁴ Haute Savoie,

21st June, 1917.

At Mornex by a streak of luck I dug out of an old Rev. des 2 Mondes a most interesting article by Renan on Esdras IV and Apocalypses⁵ in general, which fitted on to Solomon & gave me some very good links up. I was pleased to see that for the "Red Apple"⁶ prophecy I had used the principle adopted by all the pros. at Apocalypse interpretations, viz., that the prophet entrenches himself by pretending to be earlier than he is and prophesying things that have already happened, & so gives confidence in the newer "inspiration" or guess-work part.

I am also thinking at times of a scheme for dissemination of (specially Italian) art-objects by means of sets of photographic postcards. It seems to me that if Alinari,⁷ e.g., offered people like us and small public libraries & schools, well selected series of photographs in this format, much

¹ This calls them πυρέκβολα.

² The Palaeologi of Montferrat also bore the same arms.

³ The S type of *briquet* is still made in the Balkans. There is another type made in Asia Minor approximating to the B. F.W.H. gave specimens of these to Sir William Ridgeway and the Jermyn Street Museum of Applied Geology. In England he knew only of a half S or (5) form. All the above notes come from his Swiss notebooks.

⁴ By doctor's orders we left Mornex on June 15th for Argentières, near Chamonix.

⁵ 1875, viii, pp. 127-44.

⁶ First published in the sixteenth century, this prophecy foretold the coming of an Emperor, who should capture the Red Apple and some years after put the Turks to flight. F.W.H. published a translation of the text, together with a commentary, on pp. 171-4 of his "Mosques of the Arabs in Constantinople" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxii (1916-8).

⁷ The well-known Italian photographer.



By kindness of]

MALWIYAH TOWER. SAMARRA

[Major K. Mason.

Face p. 24

might be done with a fiver or a tenner without (from A's¹ point of view) touching the profits now got from the sale of whole-plate photographs, or even increasing them by the advertisement. Students working on a particular line, I mean, would order the *real* photographs relevant to this line, using the cards as an index. These cheap collections would go far to remedy the defects of text-books, which are either dear & specialist, or badly illustrated, always the same pieces & often the same blocks. Postcard size is not ideal, but there are already so many suitable postcards that could be ranged (in cabinets like a card-index) with the proposed sets.

I have seen somewhere (? mosaic in narthex of S. Mark's) a picture of the building of the tower of Babel,² in which the latter is represented as a Tower surrounded by a circular inclined plane. This made me think of the mosque of Tulun at Cairo, which has a minaret of this form. And Cairo = Babylon of the Romans (Old Cairo, to be exact) as you will remember. Is this the explanation? The Cairo yarn is that Tulun was asked by his architect how he would like the minaret done, & replied by rolling up a piece of paper & letting it go again. But the origin of this form of minaret is to be found, I think, in Mesopotamia at Samara³ (it is important religiously, as marking the spot where the last Imam disappeared), not so very far from Bagdad and the real Babylon. So there you are again. Do you know whether the subject occurs treated as above in strictly Byz. art? The presumption is, it was. But I can't remember any example.

I have been grouting about a lot, or as much as my means permit, in general history, and am surprised to find how little, when you come to look into it, the taking of Cons'ple mattered to the Renaissance & even S.W. Europe, except politically. It was the Crusades opened people's eyes & minds, the germs of nearly all the big ideas are there already, & for Italy the Near East becomes quite a peripat⁴ from that time on.

¹ Alinari's.

² If the reference is to the mosaic reproduced in Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, p. 509, fig. 247, F.W.H. is thinking of a scaffolding, but what he says about Samara and the mosque of Tulun seems sound.

³ Pl. 8.

⁴ Adapted from Modern Greek *περίπατος*, *walk, excursion*.

She had always been in touch with CP., after the Crusades closer touch than ever. As to the MSS. & Greek, Chrysoloras' and Argyropoulos'¹ dates² show that 1453 was an incident, and that, if the Polis *hadn't* gone under, both MSS. and learning would have been bought up just the same by the Italians. As to the Arts, only Greeks could possibly think Italy had anything still to learn from them by that time, & I notice that one of the French (Millet,³ I think) suggests that the mosaics of the Chora⁴ are influenced by Italy or even done by an Italian.

Argentières,

25th June, 1917

Do you remember Deonna⁵ of the French School? He has very kindly lent me his own copy of van Berchem's paper⁶ on Hussein and John the Baptist. It is very interesting as far as it goes. Nobody seems to know whether the head at Damascus is the Baptist's or Hussein's (on the Islam side, I mean) &, what is queerer, nobody seems to care.⁷

Another curious thing (quite unconnected) I have struck lately is why the *oïkoi*⁸ of the B.V.⁹ are so called (you know them, I suppose: a series of couplets beginning with the letters of the alphabet in order). Apparently the Arabic

¹ The Greek scholars who worked in mediæval Italy.

² Chrysoloras died 1415, Argyropoulos died 1473.

³ Professor Gabriel Millet. Diehl (*Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, p. 739) refutes this opinion.

⁴ The early monastery at Constantinople which is now called Kahriyeh Jamisi and is noted for its beautiful mosaics.

⁵ Professor W. Deonna, formerly a student of the French Archaeological School at Athens.

⁶ M. van Berchem, *Jean Baptiste et Hussein*, in the *Festschrift* presented to E. Sachau.

⁷ F.W.H. frequently comments on Mohammedan adoptions of Christian saints. The head in question was till lately in a chapel of the Great Mosque of the Ommeiyads at Damascus, but is now in Kerbela, where Hussein's body was buried at the time of his murder. The chapel at Damascus has been left impressively empty, and non-Moslems may only look and not step inside.

⁸ These are sung on the various festivals of the Virgin; see J. M. Neale, *History of the Eastern Church*, ii, 843-4.

⁹ Blessed Virgin.

word *Beit* = both (a) *house* and (b) *verse*. Presumably the masterpiece in question was concocted in Egypt or Syria.¹

I am doing a lot of French geography² with the aid of Chaix³ and the Michelin guide, which, though full of information about garages, pits, volts, etc., has also plans of most decent sized Fr. towns, mainly, I admit, to shew where you can fill up with stinkodoro, but showing taliter qualiter the shape of things, also what "curiosities" (i.e., churches, etc.!) there are to see. And one day I shall make a great tour and see what these places are like in elevation. The great tour is devised to explore the S.W. of France which you never hear of, & there must be some nice *backward* towns there all right, where no one ever goes: their plans hint agreeably of really dirty houses backing on rivers of a highly local kind. All you hear of in this region is S. Sernin of Toulouse, S. Front of Perigueux, Lourdes, & these bath-places where you put on your best clothes & listen genteelly to the band. BUT as soon as you look at any old map of Italy, France seems absurd as a country to travel in. The trouble with many parts of France is that they tidied up at dull times (as we did). I think in Italy the great boost at this sort of thing came earlier as a rule, & the innovations are both better in themselves & considerably aged & weathered. Also of course there are so many capitals in Italy, & some had the luck to fall right out before innovation was thought of.

What I have mixed up with the tinning of brass trays is that tinned brass plate I have with Adam and Eve repoussés, German of xvi-xvii c., which came, I am told, from Pergamon. (I have seen similar at Athos & elsewhere⁴; the other usual types are the 2 spies & the grapes, and the Annunciation). It was evidently tinned for a pilaf dish by some Turk: they like to eat off tinned things.

Did I ever tell you we found an island chest⁵ at Elgin (where the marble comes from) mounted on legs as a wine-cooler (do

¹ F.W.H. later discusses (e.g. on p. 229) the influence of Egyptian and Syrian prototypes on Greek religion and folklore.

² Among other things F.W.H. set side by side the names of the departments Ain and Eu.

³ Author of a common French railway-guide.

⁴ A friend informs me he has seen similar designs on alms-dishes in Spain.

⁵ See above, p. 21, n. 1.

you call them ?) and pieces of Spanish leather hangings stuck on: it had the castle thing (as I call it), which I mentally connect with the one that figures in the Giustiniani arms at Chios.¹

You will find Evliya² simply full of good things, and I believe there is a lot more which has never been translated. The translation seems to me bad, Hammer³ did not know English well enough to make a job of it and I should think the text is often obscure.

Argentières,

7th July, 1917.

I am always bearing in mind that I might one day try to make a companion essay to my Transferences article⁴ on the Pagan-Christian transference. It occurs to me that many of these small Christian churches one finds built among the ruins of pagan temples may have been put up, not so much in order to continue worship on a long consecrated spot, but to smoke out the devils in charge.⁵ According to Charles Baedeker, S. Maria del Popolo⁶ had to be built for reasons of this sort. Even a study of Roman foundations alone would be worth doing & probably show up the principles of the thing. As far as I have been able to gather, more Xn. churches in Rome were founded on supposed martyrdom sites, revealed sites, or houses of saints, than on ex-temples in spite of the impetus given to temple-transformation by the law giving pagan bogeia⁷ to the Xtians (Theodosius,⁸ wasn't it?).

¹ See e.g. fig. 5 on p. 147 of F.W.H.'s article, "Latin Monuments of Chios," in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xvi (1909-10).

² See above, p. 1, n. 4.

³ J. G. von Hammer-Purgstall, the Austrian Orientalist. F.W.H. frequently expressed a wish for an improved translation of Evliya.

⁴ i.e., the article "Transferences from Christianity to Islam and vice versa," which forms Part I. of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁵ As F.W.H. points out *passim* in his Transference article, any religion tends to find spooks and devils in the holy places of other religions, and these devils must be exorcised before a place of worship can safely change hands.

⁶ At Rome; see Baedeker, *Central Italy* (1909), p. 178.

⁷ Adapted to Greek forms from the word *bogey*.

⁸ See Allard, *L'Art Paten*, p. 262.

Argentières,

16th July, 1917.

Miller¹ writes *Cosmedin*² is said by Anastagius, biographer of Hadrian I,³ to have been re-named by that Pope Cosmedin because it was so beautifully decorated. I can't help thinking A. was at best an easily-pleased amateur philologist.

Argentières,

18th July, 1917.

About Ramsay & Galatians,⁴ my theory is that the alleged Galatians are really descended from Russian prisoners, who are *known* to have settled down & married Turkessas after the war of 1807-8 in the Yuzgat district—there may be a new crop after the war with a Russian prisoner-camp at Kirshehr!

Have you ever discovered why the Seven Sleepers⁵ are depicted in a ship? The dervish⁶ had no idea. As far as I can make out, a ship is somehow lucky; model ships are very often hung as charms over shops in the Egyptian Bazaar,⁷ & an old galley of one of the Sultans was popularly credited with magic power.⁸ The Turks are quite silly enough to have got confused and started some yarn about the S.S. having made a voyage, if (as is said) they are recognized patrons of shipping. If I remember right, I once bought another "ship" inscription with other names or writing worked up. So the whole thing is a muddle in which one can hardly hope to see more than dimly, owing to the dim and muddy brains which produced it.

Evliya I, i, 19 calls the serpent col. at CP. an Ezderha.⁹

¹ Dr. William Miller, the Near East historian.

² Santa Maria in Cosmedin at Rome: see above, p. 22.

³ 772-795 A.D.

⁴ See above, p. 14, n. 4.

⁵ See above, p. 18, n. 4.

⁶ The drawing of the Seven Sleepers in their ship, which is reproduced in F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, was made by a Cretan dervish.

⁷ At Constantinople.

⁸ See F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v.

⁹ See above, p. 21.

Argentières,

1st August, 1917.

I have bought my dictionary¹ & grout in it daily. There are all sorts of fine things in it, though they have revised the part about Voltaire and Homer, & in general it is a bit less clerical, Borgia popes being treated without much delicacy, etc.

I am getting very interested in a place called Rocamadour nr. Cahors, which seems to be very beautiful and historical; they used to keep Roland's sword there, and it is a pilgrimage now: must go there some day.

According to Mr. Chaix² (whose work on railways you may know), the chief pilgrimages are now S. Anne d'Auray (Britany), I suppose an old cult done up: Rocamadour, apparently very old: ND. de la Salette, modern, faked apparition of the 50's: Lourdes: & Paray le Monial near Mâcon. The last is very interesting, though it only goes back to late 17th. The cult is the Sacred Heart, & the whole thing seems mixed up with politics (Royalist) and Jesuits, who started it. In 1873, when there was a great deal of Royalist intrigue going, there was a great run on it, & there has been some attempt to run it in connection with the present war, squashed by anti-clerical government.³ I noticed independently in the trial of M. Antoinette, she was accused, *inter alia*, of having used a picture of a heart in her propaganda, & a French lady told me (which is not true) that the cult at Paray dated from Louis XVI.

What one notices about these modern pilgrimages is, (1) that the local clergy are as a rule *anti*, & (2) that apparitions have taken the place of miraculous images & relics, but (2a) the public for these things demands something more tangible than an apparition.

I have lately read Zola's "Lourdes" carefully; it is an admirable document. Particularly interesting that the child who saw the (13, I think) apparitions did not know what, i.e., who, they were, & on one occasion brought holy water to

¹ The 1914 edition of Bouillet's *Dictionnaire*, for which see above, p. 20, n. 5.

² See above, p. 27, n. 3.

³ The Government made difficulties about giving soldiers leave from the front for the great pilgrimage; in 1918, however, the soldiers had their way.

the place where they occurred, in case it might be the devil : also that she was familiar with the (then recent) story of the apparition of ND. de la Salette, which (there is considerable reason to believe) was a conscious fraud.

I have noted for further investigation a cult of the 7 Sleepers at Plouaret (Brittany), where the statues of the 7 were found miraculously in what appears to be an underground megalithic building. I suppose really there was some very unorthodox spook work going on here, which the *padres* made respectable in this way. Brittany has been much worked for these things, it will probably be all investigated and published, if I can get at the right books. It comes in very interestingly for some of my ideas on conversion of spooks.¹ I see dimly that the ousting of local Breton saints (not all of them too orthodox) by more definitely Roman figures² is really an excellent parallel for what went on in ancient times, i.e., struggle *inside* Xtianity for best places = struggle *inside* paganism for best places,³ centralizers against centrifugals, etc., rather than incompatibility of dogma in question.

Argentières,

5th August, 1917.

I have had a book of Italian sketches by J. A. Symonds to read, backed by Baedeker & the Dictionary,⁴ so manage to make out. To-day I go to the curé's to sample the parish library, & hope to get some pi. literature at least. I found some time ago in Hachette's calendar (sort of quidnunc's guide) a list of saints & their spheres, so copied them out for fun and tried to see why.⁵ You get a certain amount, who are more or less logically patrons of professions & trades they

¹ See above, p. 28, n. 5.

² i.e., saints of the Roman Church.

³ The struggle for predominance is supposed to lie between a saint of the incoming religion and a saint of its predecessor. For the varying results of one such struggle see Part I of *Christianity and Islam*.

⁴ Bouillet's *Dictionnaire*.

⁵ i.e., why any given saint was patron of a particular guild.

practised themselves, like Pantaléon p. of surgeons, Eligius of metal workers : then a certain amount, whose patronage is based on a verbal quibble like Peter (Pierre) of masons, Vincent p. of vinedressers, Cloud of nail-makers (*cloutiers*), etc. : then a rather fudgy lot, who depend on alleged episodes of their lives. In this class S. Blaise p. of carders is interesting ; he is said to have been tortured with combs ; & in somewhat the same way S. Barbara becomes patroness of artillery¹ (this has long exercised my mind), apparently through being originally connected with thunder, the reason given being that her father, who killed her, was immediately after struck by lightning. For the selection of about half the patron saints in my list I see no obvious reason, but there are hints here & there, as in the case of S. Mark, patron of glass-workers : the reason must surely be the earliness & excellence of the glass industry at Venice. Similarly, it must often have happened, when guilds & trades kept so much together, that a trade would naturally choose as its patron the saint of the parish, quarter, or street in which the trade lived, and, if in one city more than another a certain trade was famous, *its* saint would be more & more generally recognised as the saint of that trade elsewhere. Also, conversely, a purely religious confraternity to start with might become practically co-extensive with a trade under the same influences, I mean massing together of people of the same trade. It seems pretty evident that my French list does not hold good for Italy (but French S. Eligius got there. He seems to have been a good man [and quite historical] from Limoges² vi-vii. Was L. ahead of Italy then, I wonder ?) Probably there were, up & down, many competitors for the patronage of the same trade, though certain saints have a recognised sphere all over Xtendom. But here again it is remarkable that S. Nicolas is so different E. & W., though very important in both.³ Obviously, however, there is much less departmentalization in Orthodoxy, which looks as if trade organizations were either weaker, or less pious, in the Gr. empire : I do not think, however, that they would have

¹ See especially E. Yung, *Sous le Ciel Breton*, Geneva and Paris, 1894, pp. 165 ff.

² Collin, *Histoire Sacrée de Limoges* (Limoges, 1672), p. 672.

³ Cf. below, p. 46.

failed in outward piety of this sort, so suppose they lacked organization rather.

You remember *oñkot*¹ of the BV. = Arab. *beit*. What about Ital. *stanza* same idea?

Argentières,

9th August, 1917.

I have been reading *inter alia* the life of B. Marie Alacoque, who started the Sacred Heart cult: it is a fairly depressing picture of convent life, and the cult itself is, from a prot.² point of view, beneath contempt, though evidently a political lever³ of some value. The writer is incredibly naïf and regards it as a wonderful coincidence that the B. Marie (xvii c.) should have had the same sort of visions as S. Gertrude (xiv c.) on the same day. They⁴ probably read S. Gertrude that day at supper or something.

I am also having a great game with the map of France, the dictionary,⁵ and Michelin's motor guide, spotting "bastides" in Languedoc. It appears that after the Albigenses wars the part N. of the Pyrenees had to be re-settled, and this was done by planting colonies in symmetrically-built and apparently walled towns. Bastide is the local word for a country-house, so it is exactly the development of *villa* over again. These foundations are generally of xiii c. 2,⁶ and the typical form is a long rectangle, without a citadel or castle, intersected by streets in the two axes. This means of course that the towns in question were founded on level sites, but I think, at this time & down to gunpowder getting serious, the batting was very much ahead of the bowling. The "new" towns at Carcassonne & Aigues Mortes (pl. 9) are contemporary

¹ See above, p. 26.

² According to H. J. van Lennep, *Travels in Asia Minor* (London, 1870), i. 156, "porod" in Armenian means "leprous" and is applied to Protestants.

³ Because of its royalist associations. See further below, p. 41.

⁴ i.e., the nuns of Saint Marie Alacoque's convent.

⁵ Bouillet's *Dictionnaire*.

⁶ The second half of the thirteenth century.

examples of this kind of planning, and it is significant that our (*Kingston-upon-*)Hull was founded at the same time as the bastides. Was it so planned, I wonder? You can often spot a bastide on the map by its name, which is either generic like Villeneuve, Villefranche, La Bastide de (with something to qualify), or an entirely foreign name like Cologne, Pampelune, Plaisance. I don't know the explanation of this, unless, which is possible, veteran mercenaries were given command of bastides & called them after their *πατριδες*.¹ I suppose it has all been worked out, but it would be fun to go & look at the places, and one might touch some editor for a guinea, while town-planning is so fashionable, with a scragford² & photographs.

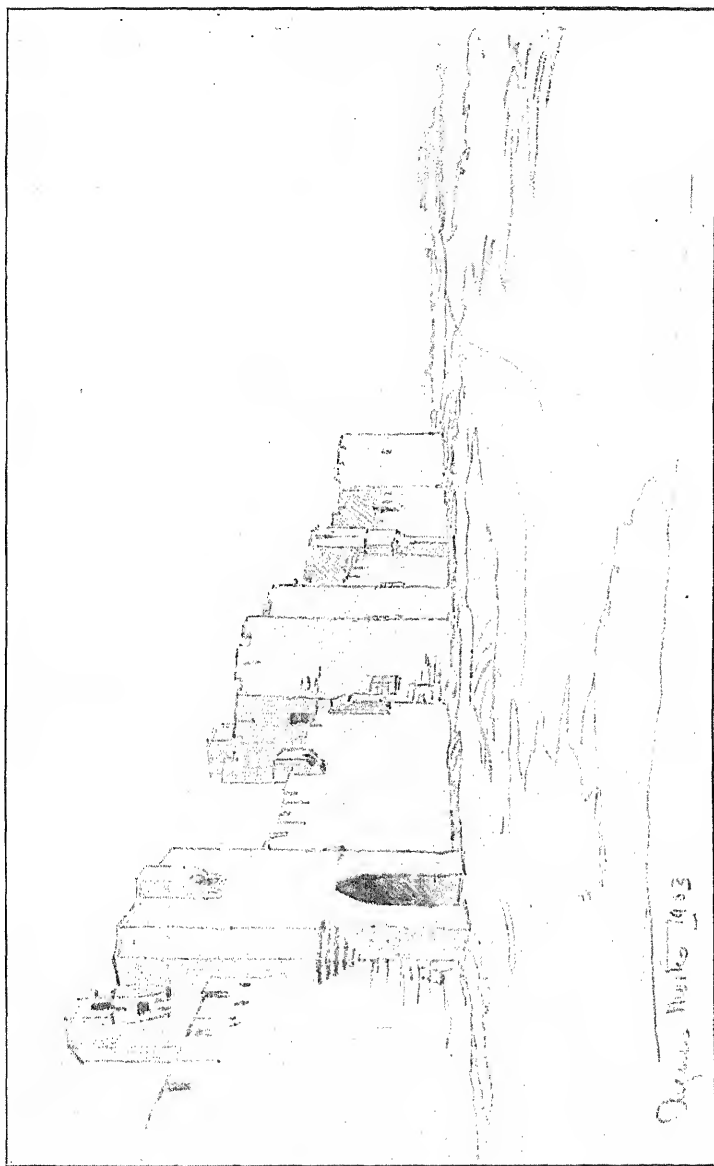
Another thing I am amusing myself with is Holy Sepulchres. I only knew of the one at Bologna, but it seems there are plenty in France, especially Burgundy, all dating from late xv & xvi. I wonder whether all our "round churches" were meant to have them, or had them? The boom in "round churches" seems to correspond with the Latin period at Jerusalem, which is natural; but why was there a rage for sepulchres in xv-xvi? I rather fancy I have read there was a doing up of the H.S. about this time, but of course pilgrimages were very fashionable then, & it is the sort of thing any noble pilgrim might vow, &, if one was built & considered a success, the idea would catch on all over the district (I have *one* isolated example in the S.).³ I am very anxious to see some of these & find out how like the real H.S. they were: the Bologna one (xii c.) is, from what I remember, not at all like the H.S., as it is shown before the fire of 1808.⁴

¹ Every Greek-speaking visitor to Greece knows how frequently this word is to be heard there.

² It may be remembered that some twenty years ago the late Sir Mark Sykes and some friends of his issued a parody of an illustrated popular magazine which they called "Scragford's Farthing." This was sent to F.W.H., and from that time onwards the British School at Athens adopted the word "scragford" to denote a popular magazine or article.

³ In Morel-Payen's *Troyes et Provins* (Villes d'Art series), p. 64: see below, p. 52.

⁴ See further below, p. 48, n. 4.



AIGUES MORTES

Argentières,

12th August, 1917.

After much contemplation of the Dictionary¹ and the map of France, I see considerable scope for continuing the Transference game there. If the Transference from Christianity to Islam illustrates more particularly the violent kind of superimposition of cult, the peaceful variety is best illustrated inside Christianity by the conflict between what you may call Ultramontanism and Regionalism. The great early *foci* of Christianity in France were evidently the monasteries; the names of many of them survive in those of the towns which first formed round them and eventually took their place. These monasteries generally took the names of their sainted founders, who were evidently the important religious figures of their countryside, and whose tombs were the popular pilgrimages in the times when distant travelling was more or less in abeyance. These saints are of course from the calendar point of view second or third rate, but locally much venerated. In England, e.g., S. Edmund, S. Edward Confr., &, quite late, S. Thomas Becket, were the great pilgrimage saints. So in France, nearly all the towns developed from abbeys are thus named, not from the biblical stratum of saints, but from local people. Later on, under the influence particularly of the Papacy and the Crusades, say from 1000 on, the biblical & Roman saints (apostles, etc.) begin to obtrude themselves. Of course, their actual bodies were in most cases disposed of, so that it was something of a problem, how to set up a counter-attraction on these lines to the actual bodies of the local saints—everybody by nature seems to prefer the worship of the tangible dead to that of ideas. The solution is found either (1) in false discoveries by revelation like the tomb of S. James Compostella² or of S. Martha at Tarascon (where a whole hagiological cycle has been developed connecting the evangelization of Provence with the "3 Maries") or (2) in the actual importation of real or reputed relics. Notable & early are the transferences of S. Mark to Venice & S. Nicolas to Bari, both towns being in touch with the East in the pre-Crusade period. During

¹ Sc. Bouillet's *Dictionnaire*.² At Santiago.

the Crusades, of course, relics of notable saints, even of Christ Himself, got scattered all over Europe, & this is the period when the "Olympian" stratum begins to impinge on the "Pelagian."¹ In Brittany, in spite of considerable efforts on the other side, the "Pelagians" as a rule hold good. (You would probably find the same in Gascony, which seems to have been ruined by the wars of the Albigenses about the critical time: civilization & centralization are all against the "Pelagians.") In Brittany Le Braz gives a good instance of a local saint being ousted & his church re-dedicated in favour of a relic (only a finger) of S. John in late mediæval times²: I think this is the exception here and the rule in more civilized parts.

A third way of pushing in the Olympians was the use of images as the concrete object of cult: the miraculous Virgins belong to this stratum. Later still, the tendency is to exploit "apparitions" rather, & these are again "Olympian." So you get as modern national pilgrimages in France ND. de Lourdes, ND. de la Salette, & Paray-le-Monial (Sacred Heart). At Lourdes, as Zola points out,³ there would in the nature of things have been a cult of the local Bernadette Soubirous (who saw the visions), but this was foreseen, & provided against, by the "Olympian" party, & she was kept quiet & eventually buried elsewhere.

This, I take it, is in some ways the true counterpart of the superimposition & struggle for places of cults in ancient times, and a better parallel than the struggle between Xtianity & Paganism or between Islam & Xtianity, in that political and racial animosities count at least for much less, and that, whereas Xtianity & Islam claim the *monopoly* of true religion, no cult inside Paganism ever did. Just as it was not inconsistent to worship both Homeric Apollo and some little hole & corner joss, so it is not inconsistent to revere both S. Peter, say, & S. Meriadec.⁴ But S. Peter is the more orthodox, more universal, & better docu-

¹ The terminology is the classical.

² See the chapter on S. Jean du Doigt in Le Braz' *Au Pays des Pardons*.

³ In his *Lourdes*, see above, p. 30.

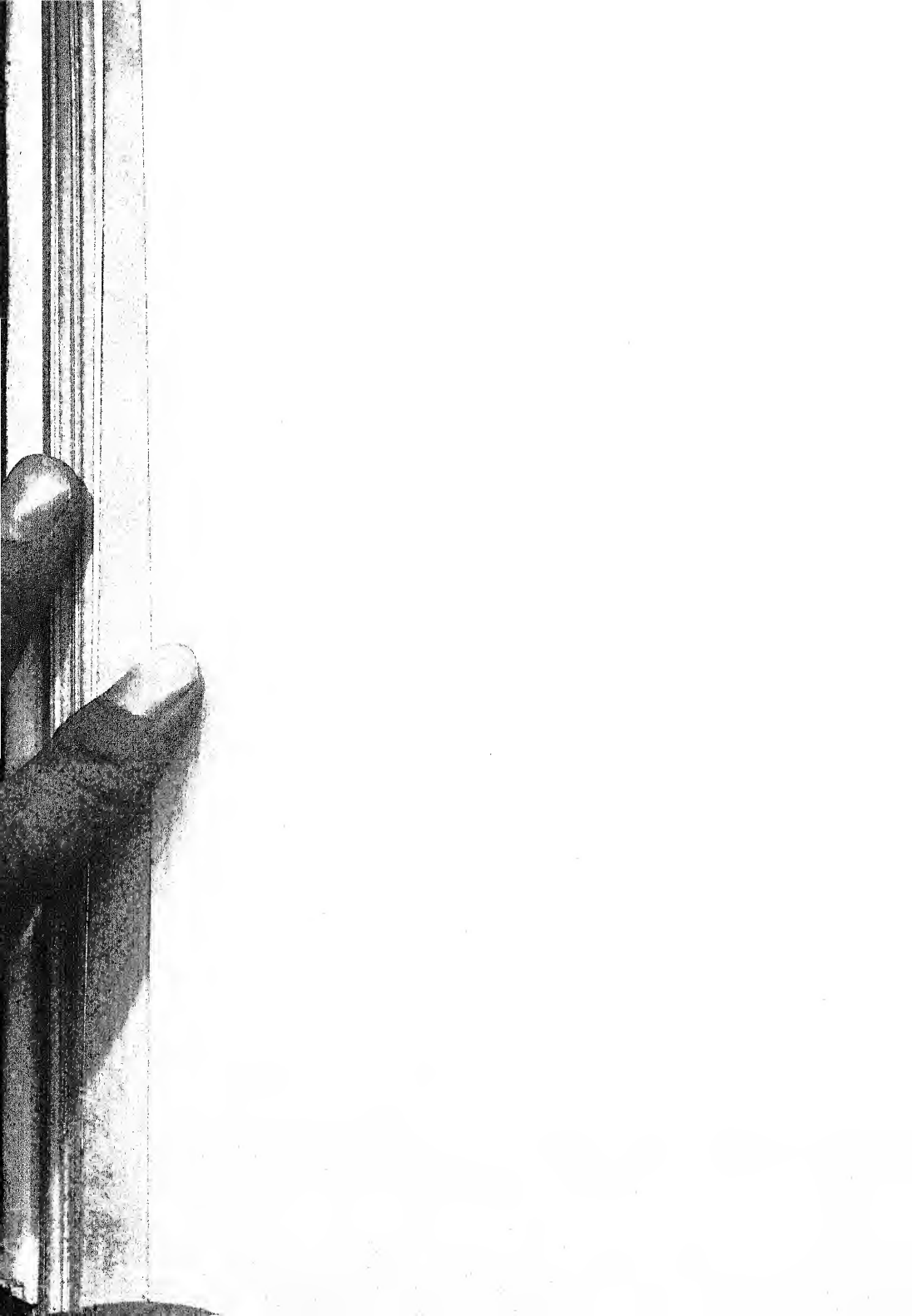
⁴ A "Pelagian" saint of Brittany, for whom see Le Braz' *Au Pays des Pardons*, and others.

PLATE 10



VILLENEUVE LÈS AVIGNON

Face p. 36



mented *and* the saint of the Olympian party. So you can keep on S. Meriadec, if you realise the superiority of S. Peter. I am sure heaps of stuff is available for working this out, only, as in the case of the other Transference,¹ no one has put it together.

Argentières,

16th August, 1917.

The man who did the mosaics of S. Mark's² must have sapped up Egypt somehow, witness the Pyramids!

Lambros' collection of chronological notes³ is, I believe, not finished. I got a new one at the BM. about the news of CP. being brought to Crete by 3 Cretan vessels (named), which had been stationed at the boom on the Horn, as we know from other sources. The news came pretty slowly. I have all this worked out.⁴

Reading B. Ounko,⁵ I find that, when Charles X was crowned at Rheims, they were frightened the sculpture of the façade would drop on his head, so they chopped off the parts that stuck out and looked dangerous, & Ounko himself got a head of Christ out of it

Argentières,

21st August, 1917.

I find to-day in Miss Lamb's article⁶ that the mosque of the Touloun⁷ was erected by an architect from Samarra,⁸ so *that* all fits in. It looks to me like an adaptation from an earth

¹ i.e. from Christianity to Islam (Part I of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*).

² Cf. above, p. 25.

³ Published in the periodical *Néos Ἑλληνομνημῶν*, *passim*.

⁴ Posthumously published on pp. 165-7 of F.W.H.'s article, "Constantinopolitana," in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xliii (1923).

⁵ Modern Greeks transcribe the name *V. Hugo B. Oūko*.

⁶ *Notes on Seljouk Buildings at Konia* in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxi (1914-6), pp. 31-61.

⁷ At Cairo: see above, p. 25.

⁸ Cf. Baedeker, *Egypt* (1914), p. 73.

embankment used as scaffolding for high buildings in a country where there was little or no wood¹; but I remember very vaguely what it looks like: moreover, that is not the point. The yarn about Touloun and the scroll of paper² is, like all such yarns, scrapped.

Did I ever tell you of a horrid kind of vampire thing I had heard of in Macedonia from a man who had lived in Damascus, called a Nyam Nyam soi³? I forget the details, but I know it ate people it caught unawares & was human in form. Now I find that Nyam Nyam, which I had long known as the name of a Central African tribe, is a name given this tribe by unappreciative neighbours on account of their cannibal habits. This seems to me to open up a curious vision of Arabian papas in the slave trade infecting their nurseries with Equatorial bogiology, but I may be wrong. ("Soi" is all right Tk. for "sort.")

Argentières,

26th August, 1917.

I have had my Joanne "Brittany" sent over & have got a little further into the peculiarities of the country. One thing is, I think, particularly interesting for the development of saints' characteristics. S. Eligius,⁴ a goldsmith, known to the rest of France as the patron of goldsmiths, is here the patron of horses. The line of development is quite clear luckily. From a goldsmith he becomes the patron of the crafts that work metal in general, including *farriers*, & so gets in touch with the horsey set. In Brittany they bring their horses to him every year & make their "bow," afterwards dedicating a lock of their hair.

But take away the steps in the development & put it into

¹ As is true of Mesopotamia.

² Above, p. 25.

³ Above, p. 9, n. 4.

⁴ See above, p. 32.

current jargon¹ & you get something like this: "Eligios, popular in other parts of Greece as the patron of goldsmiths, has in Arcadia the title *Hippios*. Arcadia is of course *par excellence* the country of horsebreeders. The pseudo-Ananias says that all Arcadian horses were broken-winded, obviously owing to his jealousy, as a Boeotian, of Arcadian institutions: his evidence is therefore proof that the contrary was true. Again, the well-known proverb 'Ἀρκὰς ἰππεύειν, said of a practical impossibility, shews that the Arcadians were bareback riders daring to a degree. Splendidus Mendax much later (*De Repub. Arcad.* xi, 3) says 'Arcades omnes equi,' referring to these same centaur-like qualities (the older MSS. have uniformly *æqui*, due to commonplace copyists in love with the obvious). The Arcadians must thus at all times have had a horse-god of Pelasgian origin, whose identity is barely veiled by the superimposition, or identification with him, of the so-called Eligios Hippios." Q.E.D.

I have got another book² out of the padre about the Sacred Heart. It is (as I thought) closely associated with the royalist party from the time of the Revolution onwards, standing for (1) French monarchy & (2) Restoration of the Papacy. In 70-71 it was taken as their emblem by certain volunteer regiments (Breton, ex-Papal zouaves, etc.) & got an army tinge. After the war, about 1873, there was a great Catholic Revival &, I think, also royalist propaganda, the S.H. pilgrimage (to Paray-le-Monial) assumed tremendous proportions, and a bill was got through the House for the erection of the "basilica" of S.H. at Montmartre *as a work of public utility*, wh. looks as if the republic was slumping & public feeling was too strong on the Catholic side. In the present war they are taking advantage of the 1870 connection to run the S.H. as a war-cult, & you see many ladies wearing the button of adhesion. Rather interesting as development, all the documentation being good.

¹ Sc. of certain writers on Greek mythology.

² E. Bougaud, *Histoire de la B. Marguérite Marie*, Paris, 1875. The saint was known originally as Marie Alacoque, it will be remembered: cf. above, p. 33.

Argentières,

4th September, 1917.

I can hardly be called a wide reader except in the sense that by force of circumstances I range from tromper¹ to Lives of the Saints. To me now situated as I am, the Dict.² makes a sort of backbone. Do you remember the old wooden soldiers you pegged down on a wooden rackwork and made jiggle up and down? It is a rack of that kind for anticas & other properties I am making, to jiggle them up and down "after the war."

I have been reading a book I found in the Circulating Library here. It is called "Histoires Orientales"; consists of mixed papers on the Near East by de Voguë.³ *Inter alia* a frightfully good article on the origins of the patriarchate of Moscow. Apparently a patriarch of CP., Jeremiah, the founder of Stavroniketa,⁴ I think, having been in tow of the patriarchal throne several times, a somewhat expensive business,⁵ set off for Holy Russia, not forgetting his (funny⁶ but) empty hat. Arrived at Moscow, the regent kidnapped him & twisted his tail till he said Moscow, then a bishopric only, should be a patriarchate. He was then given magnificent presents & sent home, pushed the thing through the Council, & there they were. De Voguë does not spare the CP. patriarchate of this date & knows all the interesting and picturesque details.

Also I have another fat book on the Sacred Heart⁷ lent me by the curé,⁸ historical & by a Jesuit! But he is a better Jesuit than he is historian. It seems quite plain that the whole business really goes back to S. Catherine of Siena and is due to a morbid psychological state reached by dint of mortification

¹ French novels (*tromper*).

² Bouillet's.

³ C. J. M. de Voguë, *Histoires Orientales*, Paris, 1880.

⁴ A small monastery on Mount Athos: for details see F.W.H.'s *Athos and its Monasteries*, *passim*.

⁵ Because of the bribes expected from hangers-on.

⁶ F.W.H. here laughs at the remarks which writers of slight travel books on Greece inevitably make on the hats of Greek priests.

⁷ Victor Alet, S.J., *La France et le Sacré Cœur*, Paris, 1889.

⁸ Of Argentières.

& concentrated prayer by *women* in convents. I have always felt that the combination of sentiment & rather crude & material symbolism was female. When one is told (1) that B. Marie Marguerite *saw* Christ open His side revealing His heart, *a cross*, & *a crown of thorns*, and that (2) the "arms" devised by its founder for her Order (Visitandines) were *a heart*, *a cross*, & *a crown of thorns*, it does not require a very robust scepticism, or very deep knowledge, to pick holes in the miracle. But of course this goes down with lots of simple pious people, & a lot of royalists and others subscribe to it because the S.H. is the rallying-point of French Catholicism & Royalism¹ at once, also Papal Restoration, so, one may say at once, Reaction, as opposed to this curious other thing (which I do not deeply admire) they, conventionally at least, prefer in these parts.²

The Dict.³ unaided told me a thing that interested me very much, viz., that in mid xvii century there were at least two educated men who self-consciously wrote dialect poems in Languedoc, & one was so appreciated that they made up a hat to enable him to continue. I should hardly have thought Mistralism possible in France at that date, should you?

Do you ever think now of your edition of the Acritic cycle⁴? It occurred to me the other day, you would have to read Sidi Battal,⁵ if you did. He is, by the way, a son-in-law of one *Akrates*, besides being the Arab counterpart of Digenes. I suppose S.B. is the origin also of El Cid Campeador's name at least, & I should not be surprised if some *faits & gestes* had been adapted, too.

¹ See above, pp. 30, 39.

² I suppose F.W.H. here means the official atheism of the French Government. He certainly regretted that. Or perhaps he means democracy.

³ Bouillet's *Dictionnaire*.

⁴ i.e., the poems that have gathered round the Byzantine borderer, Digenes Akritas.

⁵ Ethé, *Fahrten des Saggiid Battal*, Leipzig, 1871: see also pp. 184-9 of F.W.H.'s "Graves of the Arabs," in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xix (1912-3).

Argentières,

5th September, 1917.

Do you, I wonder, know anything about how they found Antenor's bones (?) at Padua¹? I seem to remember a sarcophagus of 13th c. with Lombardic lettering, but that only means he was discovered by then, maybe earlier. I suspect these were gigantic (probably fossil) bones, or they would have said it was a saint. This is, I think, the Christian way of thinking, i.e., gigantic stature is characteristic, not of saints (S. Christopher² of course an exception), but of "men of old time," especially the pugnacious kind, who are rarely canonized, even if they fought the paynim. Roland, for instance, remains secular. The whales' bones at Rhodes are attributed by Greeks to Digenes, paladin type again. Turks, on the other hand, don't mind their saints being gigantic.³ I suppose you have noticed Xtian. relics are mainly bones, Tk. almost never.

I am wondering also if Antenor's grave had anything to do with Brute of Troy. So many learned clerks passed through Padua going to Venice on pilgrimage, & his grave might have brought home to them how respectable it was to have a Trojan ancestry. But of course Virgil reeks of it⁴ (& Brute is rather early for pilgrims). It is to secular legend what the oarless ship from Palestine is to religious.

I have been reading Ounco's⁵ "Notre Dame," which would be a marvellous book if written yesterday, & it is 1839—a little spoilt perhaps by his love of the grotesque, which is an exaggeration of Romantic characteristic of him & comes out in his drawings. But his mediæval women's chatter is as real as Theocritus's.

What were the Renaissance people *mainly* after, as regards Greek? Aristotle & Plato, I gather, & I didn't know before that these were first printed in Latin. I mean, really weren't

¹ A mediæval sarcophagus at Padua is said to contain the bones of the Trojan Antenor, who, according to Virgil, was the founder of Padua: see Baedeker, *Northern Italy* (1899), p. 234: cf. p. 232.

² His gigantic body lies buried in Valencia (Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire des Reliques*, i, 142).

³ See F. W. H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v. *giant*.

⁴ Trojan ancestry.

⁵ See above, p. 37, n. 5.

they primarily after the ancient wisdom more than the language & literature as such? I know Homer was appreciated earlier than what we call the Renaissance period, but Aristotle, I imagine, was never *unknown* all through, though a lot of his works became known to the W. first through the Arabs, as well as later in the original Greek through CP.

About Cosmedin, I just put down, as near as I could make out, what Miller told me.¹ Something like that it must have been, not along of Cospoli and Al (*sic*) *Meidan*, as Carl² hazily implies. It was that enraged me into being curious on the point.

Argentières,

9th September, 1917.

Don't you think the type in G. F. Hill's article³ of S. Michael defeating Satan on the doors at Mte. Gargano⁴ is based on the Transfiguration type? Michael in the oval takes the place of Christ surrounded by the big glory, he is not really fighting, probably indeed taken from a type in the act of benediction. There is no need for the mountain on which he stands, which is part of the old scheme taken over. And the pose of the fulminated Scratch Baba⁵ resembles those of the scared disciples in the Transfiguration. If this is so, it is interesting for the evolution of new types from old pattern-books, comparable to the use of certain figures & combinations of figures to represent quite different persons & scenes by vase painters. I am also inclined to think that the Apollo-Michael of the A.S. Herbarium (fig. 8⁶) is neither Apollo nor Michael but a bishop,

¹ See above, p. 29.

² Baedeker.

³ G. F. Hill, *Apollo and St. Michael: some Analogies*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxxvi (1916), pp. 134-162.

⁴ *Idem*, Fig. 7.

⁵ i.e., dragon, so called by F.W.H. from its spikes and the popular Turkish habit of calling saints, etc., *baba*.

⁶ In Mr. Hill's article.

perhaps the patron founder of the abbey for which the MS. was written: the monk scribe at his side naturally presents the volume. Did the soldier stand the racket?

The possibility of two discrepant traditions being current at the same time & place is one of the points my transference studies¹ have made abundantly clear. It is only when the learned chip in that such discrepancies are taken seriously into consideration, & they take their line according to their prejudices, either backing one side hard or evolving a quibble which will reconcile the two, like the yarn of Sari Saltik's 7 bodies.²

My Jesuit³ reproduces a fresco by B. Gozzoli of S. Tho. Aquinas flanked by Plato & Aristotle & with Judaism (I suppose) squirming at his feet. All these three figures have oriental head-dresses. I suppose these come ultimately from the sketchbooks of artists who had visited CP. or Egypt & noted the typical get-up of Oriental wise men. The Council of Ferrara people on the doors of S. Peter's are in turbans, I noticed, same period as Gozzoli.

Pursuing the Sacred Heart, I find with some gratification that the cult of the heart of the BV. was officially introduced a few years earlier than that of the S.H. of Jesus & *by a man*, which confirms my theory that the S.H. of Jesus is essentially a feminine cult. It is further interesting to see that the S.H. cult would never have come out but for a man (*Jesuit*), the nuns having great hesitation in accepting the revelations as genuine, until B. Marie Alacoque's confessor took it up. I suspect that this sort of exaltation is pretty common & is in convent circles not considered a thing to encourage, or it would become epidemic & a source of scandal. The responsibility of exploiting a special case is here assumed by a man outside the community.

Isn't it very extraordinary *either* that S. Louis' "Crown of Thorns" is a simple circlet of rushes without a single thorn *or* that the traditional crown of thorns in art takes absolutely no notice of this?

¹ Now Part I of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

² See pp. 203-8 of F.W.H.'s "Studies in Turkish Folk-Legend" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xix (1912-3).

³ See above, p. 40, n. 7.

About Monte Gargano,¹ I now think *Garganus* was originally the local dragon, or *dev* (*Gargantua*, *Gargouille*,² all giants & dragons are tremendous eaters & have big mouths, throats, & bellies), & that the hero who did him in became identified with S. Michael. Hence perhaps the mount in the door panel.³

Argentières,

20th September, 1917.

I have got a French *Lives of the Saints*⁴ in 4 vols. from the padre, which is interesting reading, and I have got a lot out of it, various sorts. A propos of an idea I have already broached to you,⁵ viz., exorcism of temple sites by church building, I have a very nice example from the Life of S. Cyril of Alexandria.⁶ There was a church at Canopus that had been a temple and in spite of the transformation the local demons still made trouble. A remedy was found in the importation of relics of S. Mark. This is like the Arrested Transferences⁷ in my article, where I have numerous examples of church-mosques which were so haunted that they became impossible for Moham-medan worship: only these generally succumb & close down.

There are two canonized children in the collection, who were done in by the Jews at Easter⁸ like little S. Hugh of Lincoln (about 1200 and 1475): if you looked, you would find probably that someone wanted an excuse for pogroms at these times.

An incident about S. Dominic⁹ is very characteristic of such story-telling. His mother, before he was born, imagined she would bear a dog holding a torch. Evidently based on the

¹ See above, p. 43.

² For this see chapter I of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

³ See p. 158 of Mr. Hill's article (above, p. 43, n. 3).

⁴ P. Guérin's *Vie des Saints* (Paris, 1898).

⁵ Above, p. 28, n. 5.

⁶ 28th January.

⁷ Chapter iii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁸ S. Simeon of Trento (24th March) and S. Richard (25th March).

⁹ 4th August.

device of the Dominicans, which in turn is based on the "dogs of the Lord" (Domini Canes) joke. Like the incident of Alexander saluted by Zeus Ammon at Siwa as a son, which throws back & results in the detrimental legends about Olympias.

There is a saint in my *Lives*¹ who was kidnapped by the Jews, after he had taken the Sacrament, & hung head downwards to make him vomit the Host. This is a new idea to me: I suppose it was thought they wanted the Host for magic or perhaps to insult it. Do you know?

P.S.—The solution is given 'apparently in Whymper, *Chamonix*,² where a case is cited of a condemnation for witchcraft 1642. The defendant, Jean Grelan, had "trampled on the body of Christ & paid homage to the Devil." So the Host was necessary for the ritual of selling yourself to the Devil. Cf. also a woman condemned for "eating children at the Synagogue,"³ shewing the same connection between Jews & black magic.

Argentières,

26th September, 1917.

I am getting on with my patron saints.⁴ A curious result, only rough as yet, is that S. Nic. in France has given up the sea altogether, preferring rivers & canals (query: after a rough passage to Bari?⁵) and is patron of bargees, not sailors.⁶

I have a great wheeze about S. Clement, who was sent to the Chersonnese to quarry marble for being a Christian, A.D. 101,⁷ & has since been run into the conversion of the Slavs

¹ S. Vernher of Baccarat (19th April).

² P. 3: referring to A. Perrin, *Histoire de Chamonix* (Paris, 1887), pp. 121 f.

³ Perrin, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See above, pp. 31-32.

⁵ See above, p. 35.

⁶ Peyre, *Nîmes, Arles, Orange*, p. 209: Molanus, *De Historia SS. Imaginum* (Louvain, 1771), p. 390.

⁷ 23rd November.

(S. Cyril is buried in S. Clemente,¹ you remember). I don't believe there is any marble to quarry in the Chersonnese: I thought of the *Istrian* peninsula, & behold! there is an island *Cherso*.² Also I think Istrian stone-trade may account for the Fiume stage in the history of the Holy House.³ I never could understand why it had to fly twice, but if there was some innovation about it, as e.g. that the stone was cut in the quarry & fitted at Loretto, one sees dimly that experts might fudge up a miracle.

Montana,⁴

4th October, 1917.

A Greek at our table is from Anapa near Batoum, his parents from Trebizond. He says there is *no tide* in the Black Sea⁵ and that *stone* is *not* quarried⁶ in the Crimea—two strong points in favour of *my* S. Clement theory⁷ (i.e. that he really died in Istria, perhaps the island of Cherso, hence confusion with (Tauric) Chersonnese).

I have been grubbing about a good lot with Baedeker *re* Pagan-Xtian transference in Rome & it seems pretty clear that, when Christianity first became official, they⁸ built on *their own* traditional sites, & that later on, *when they were worse builders*, they gladly took over any old building, *secular or sacred*, that seemed usable. This is a rather dull & negative conclusion but not without its value, as in Rome you have a very religious pagan city turned into a very religious Christian

¹ At Rome: see Baedeker, *Central Italy* (1909), p. 340, and Murray's *Handbook of Rome* (London, 1899), p. 112.

² See further below, p. 60.

³ Of Loretto, but see below, p. 61.

⁴ As F.W.H. was not improving in health, we left Argentières at the end of September for a sanatorium at Montana in Switzerland.

⁵ The legend states that S. Clement was drowned by the tide.

⁶ S. John also is said to have been banished to the marble quarries of Patmos, whose existence F.W.H. in a notebook queries, and Christ is said to have been employed on Diocletian's palace: the *motif* seems a stock one.

⁷ Above, pp. 46-7.

⁸ i.e., the Christians.

city & exerting a great influence on western Christendom. Most of the legends about churches occupying temple-sites (like S. Paul's, Notre Dame, etc.) I think are just made up *ad majorem gloriam* as guaranteeing the antiquity of the site & sensational victory of the true faith on the demons' own ground; & I think also the later view of the pagans as representatives of an admirable and superior civilization comes in.

In a little life of S. Dominic¹ I have got the last detail to make all clear about the dog and torch legend, viz., how the torch got there. It appears that the Dominicans were called "flambeaux du monde" in a papal bull. So Domini-canes = flambeaux du monde was what his mother saw before his birth.

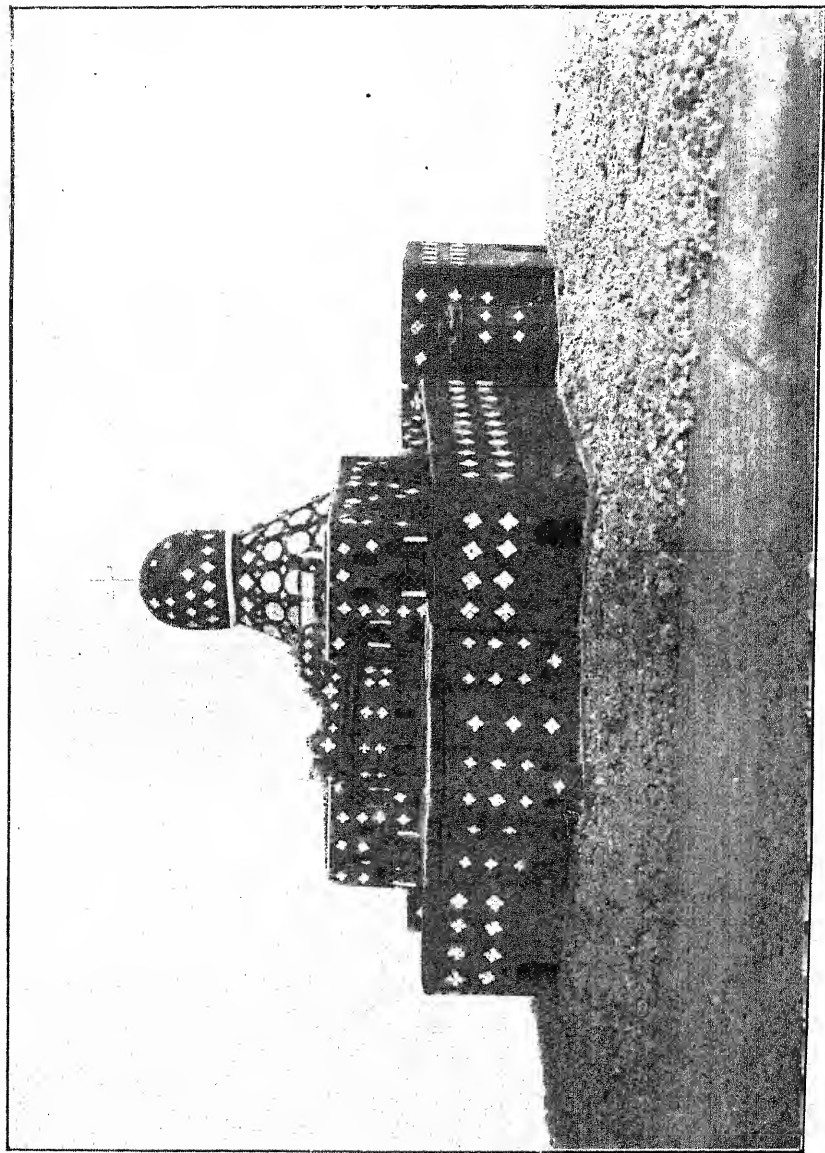
I saw the Treasury of S. Maurice² on my way here: it is a great show of mediæval silver & enamel work, reliquaries & church plate, some of it very early. Two "head" reliquaries, which I have long wanted to see. I suppose these must have grown out of the silver cased skulls you see on Athos. Later on, the connection with the actual head seems to have become obscured, & they are used for any relics there may be about—which explains the duplication of saints' heads to the prejudice of the faithful. There were also two "arms" reliquaries, the hand in the act of blessing, to which the same applies. I am wondering if these pearl-inlaid models of H. Sepulchre & Nativity churches they make at Bethlehem (I suppose) were not meant for reliquaries in the first place, to bring home your Palestine anticas in, for instance. (There is a Nativity church at Oxford, Henderson³ has a H. Sepulchre ch., & I saw a battered H. Sepulchre itself in the bazaar at Angora. Henderson's⁴ (plates 11 and 12) has a lid to take off

¹ I regret that I cannot identify this book, but the story is well known.

² Not San Moritz, but Saint Maurice in the canton of Valais.

³ Mr. A. E. Henderson.

⁴ Mr. Henderson has kindly sent me the following details about his model. Though bought in the bazaar of Constantinople about 1904, it was said to come from Yannina in Epirus. Its cupola shows it to be older than the fire of 1808. It is made of Caucasian walnut inlaid with engraved mother-of-pearl disks and edged with ivory. The roof lifts off and the walls of the circular part open so as to give views of the interior. The aisle of the circular nave is in two stories and of Byzantine design, the choir is of Gothic character. The nave, aisles, and ambulatory of the choir are provided each with three bastions. It has, therefore, several peculiarities. It measures one foot six inches square.



[Photograph]

MODEL OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

[Mr. A. E. Henderson

Face F. 43

and compartments inside.) You know the sort of truck pilgrims did, & doubtless do, bring home from H.L.¹

At S. Maurice I found a penny reproduction of ND. du Perpétuel Secours, who turns out to be of Cretan origin, xiii or xiv c. & must be a fine thing (at S. Alfonso de'Liguori, Rome). The Virgin is flanked by angels shewing the Child the Instruments of the Passion. The Child, frightened, drops one sandal. It would be most popular in Greece. Even a penny reproduction is not bad.

Montana,

10th October, 1917.

I believe N. Africa may have been an important source of supply for Tk. & Arab folklore: they are very superstitious there, & I have met with what I believe to be N. African yarns elsewhere. In particular, I believe Algeria to be a source of the converted Christian princess *motif*² which turns up all over, and I shouldn't be surprised either if N. Africa had contributed to such sea-folklore³ as the Tks. & Arabs have got.

Montana,

17th October, 1917.

Did I tell you our Anapa Greek⁴ had lent me 2 Μικρασιατικά 'Ημερολόγια⁵? There are many amusing things in them, quite a good lot of village & war stories & sketches. *Inter alia*, the editress tells a good yarn 1916 about a miraculous picture of S. Elias kept in a private house at Samos. It does not seem to have *done* any miracles but was produced in a miraculous way like the Volto Santo of Lucca & the ἀχειροποίητα.⁶ A stone mason was cured of a paralysed

¹ Holy Land.

² See F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v. *conversion*.

³ Which is almost *nil*.

⁴ See above, p. 47.

⁵ Published in Athens.

⁶ "Images not made with hands."

arm by S. Elias, who appeared to him several times in the form of a dervish and told him after the cure to go to a certain spot, where he would find a μάρμαρον, with which he was to make an eikon. He found it all right & got it ready, but discovered that he didn't know grammata¹ & couldn't draw—great tinaquanimity,² on which St. E. appeared again &, producing a pencil from his prophetic waistcoat-pocket, drew the outline for the mason to work on, which he did. S. Elias's version of himself (of wh. a photograph is given) represents a person of irregularly oval shape standing on 4 horses and surrounded by cherubims and bunniferous³ birds. It is a fine effort and you can still see the marks of Elias's pencil. The inscription is Θαύμα τοῦ προφήτου Ἑλίου ἀναφανέν τῷ τῇν εἰκόνα ταύτην γλύψαντι Μιχαήλῳ Μαρμαρᾷ τῷ πρῶτῳ καὶ ἀριστερὰν ξηρὰν ἔχοντι χεῖρα Μαρτίου 30 1837.⁴ Interesting for the history & legend of other pictures & images of miraculous provenance. The work is just what a rustic mason rather clever with his tools would make of it: the story says he was a great tippler. I suppose he surprised himself as well as everyone else, & had had a funny dream. But it is a queer story anyhow. Have seen much similar work on marble eikons in Chios⁵ where M.M.⁶ worked.

Truffling about in a 45 c.⁷ *Life of S. Dominic* I found what is to me a new element in hagiology. A cleric of bad life dreamt he was out in a storm & made for the nearest house, which happened to belong to Truth. She refused to open, as he did not love her. Same refusal & moral remark *chez* Peace, but she sent him on to her sister Pity, & the latter in turn to the Dominicans. Which of course converted the sinner & made him join the Order. Evidently, I think, lifted and adapted from a "Mystery," or "Morality" rather.

¹ The familiar δὲν ξέρω γράμματα of the modern Greek peasant.

² On the model of *equanimity* from the perpetual τί νὰ κάνωμε; of Greeks.

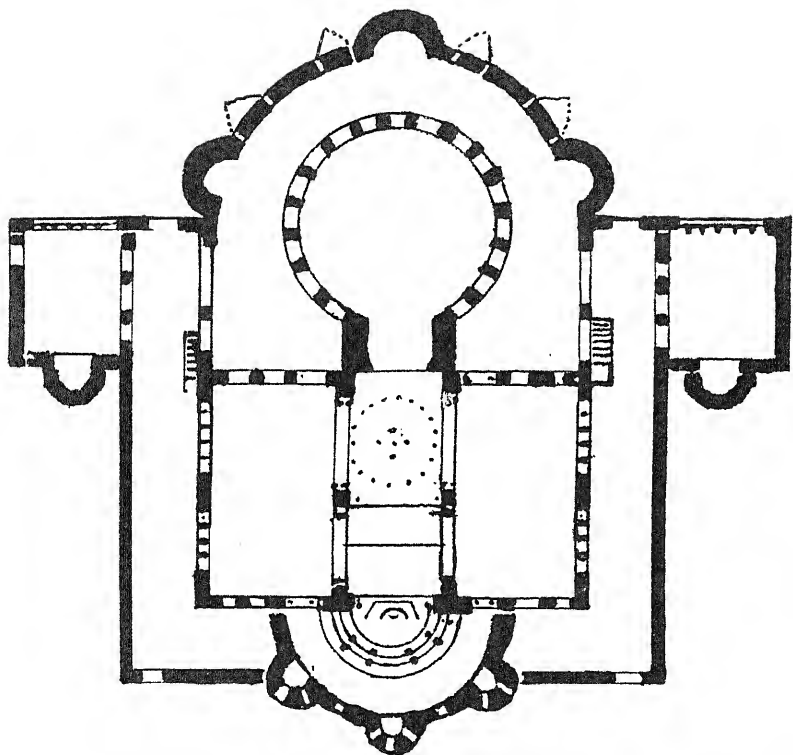
³ Rabbit-shaped.

⁴ *Miracle of the Prophet Elias made manifest to Michael Marmaras who dressed this stone image and formerly had a withered left arm. March 30th, 1837.*

⁵ F.W.H. several times visited Chios: the most important paper he published as a result is his *Latin Monuments of Chios* in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xvi (1909-10), pp. 137-184.

⁶ i.e., Michael Marmaras.

⁷ Centimes.



PLAN OF THE MODEL OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

Face p. 5c

Montiana,

23rd October, 1917.

About the Gk. population of W. Asia Minor, I think, the more you read about it, the more you are convinced that a vast proportion of it is from the islands & recent, 18 c. & on, some of it (witness the Vlachs on Ida¹ from Syrakou near Yannina) from the Gk. mainland. Especially in Ali's² time, you were poor and oppressed in Europe, if Greek; poor and free in the islands, & well to do & free in Asia Minor under the Karaosmanoglu (Magnesia, Pergamon, Aidin valley, influential at Smyrna), Ellesoglu (Smyrna to Miletus), and the beys opposite Rhodes (pl. 13).³ At Rhodes itself you got a bad time, as it was a fleet station and arsenal, Cos had a garrison, & the old-school Turkish Tommy, I take it, had not too light a hand with local homogeneis.⁴ Why Naxos people should come to Vourla⁵ I don't see, though I have no doubt they did. Stamatades' book on Samos⁶ shows the awful jumble they got there.

I have got a book on Einsiedeln,⁷ where I propose to go in the spring: they have one of their minor "dos" at S. George's. It seems to me to have a good many points of interest. Like Loretto, it has a chapel in a church, & they have made it as miraculous as possible, though they could not get as far as the Flitting. Einsiedeln was dedicated by God, saints of note reading the lessons, & angels of course in the choir. They have got a black Madonna as at Loretto, I suppose xiii c., which they cover with magnificent garments making it look quite like a Byz. picture (ῥόδον ἀμάρτυρον type, do you know?) I should think. This is Loretto, too. The guide is

¹ Seen by F.W.H. in April, 1911, when he accompanied Dr. Walter Leaf on his Troad expedition. In the letter F.W.H. should call them, not Vlachs, but Sarakachan, as he does in his Troad notebook. I hope to say something on them in my own book on the folklore and ethnology of Western Macedonia.

² Ali Pasha of Yannina.

³ The Karaosmanoglu and Ellesoglu were semi-independent satraps of Western Asia Minor in the eighteenth century: see pp. 198-203 of F.W.H.'s article "Studies in Turkish History and Folk-Legend" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xix (1912-3): also pp. 118-9 of his article "Ambiguous Sanctuaries and Bektashi Propaganda" in the following *Annual* (xx, 1913-4).

⁴ Greek nationals in Asia Minor (ῥογενεῖς).

⁵ Near Smyrna.

⁶ Σαμιάδα, Athens, 1862.

⁷ R.P. Odilo Ringholz, *Das Haus der Mutter*, Einsiedeln, 1913.

exceedingly well & learned-popularly written by one of the monks who are O.S.B.¹ A great contrast to S. Maurice here in Valais, where pilgrims seem very little catered for at all.

It is very interesting also to find the range of a big pilgrimage like Einsiedeln, which is not absolutely first-class. Chapels have been dedicated to this Madonna (often direct copies of the Einsiedeln chapel) at various parts of German Switzerland and in the adjacent parts of Eteobochia,² & very few elsewhere, except for a thick clump in the French dept. of Doubs, all, they say, traceable to the influence and abetment of a French cleric of Besançon. I have always wanted to work this out, especially for the Holy Sepulchre, where you have a very distinct form & certain periods of prominence, during which you would expect dedications and reminiscences, especially by Crusading potentates, to be frequent.³ This whole question is very wide & interesting & never properly worked. I am sure all the material, or nearly all, is ready done in R.C. stuff & only needs putting together. Building type, cultus image, and dedication are the three obvious headings. There seem to be Lourdes caves all over France and even, I believe, in the Vatican⁴ garden!

Montana,

24th October, 1917.

I have got hold of an R.C. paper called "Notre Dame." In it is an article on the Panagia Odigitria of CP.,⁵ whom I know from coins as a type holding up hands in blessing, with a medallion of the Child on the breast. Painted by S. Luke, of course. The original was a kind of palladium & either this or (more probably) a copy found its way to the Dominican church in Galata & is, after various vicissitudes, still there.

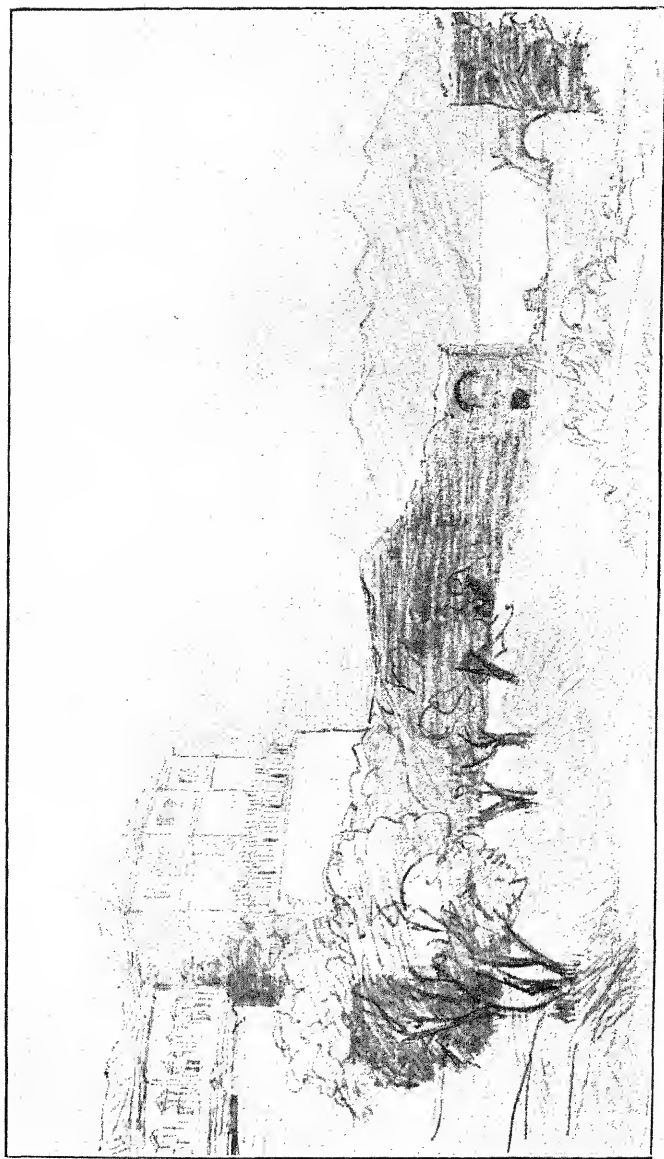
¹ Ordinis Sancti Benedicti.

² i.e., Germany proper, on the model of such words as Eteo-Cretans.

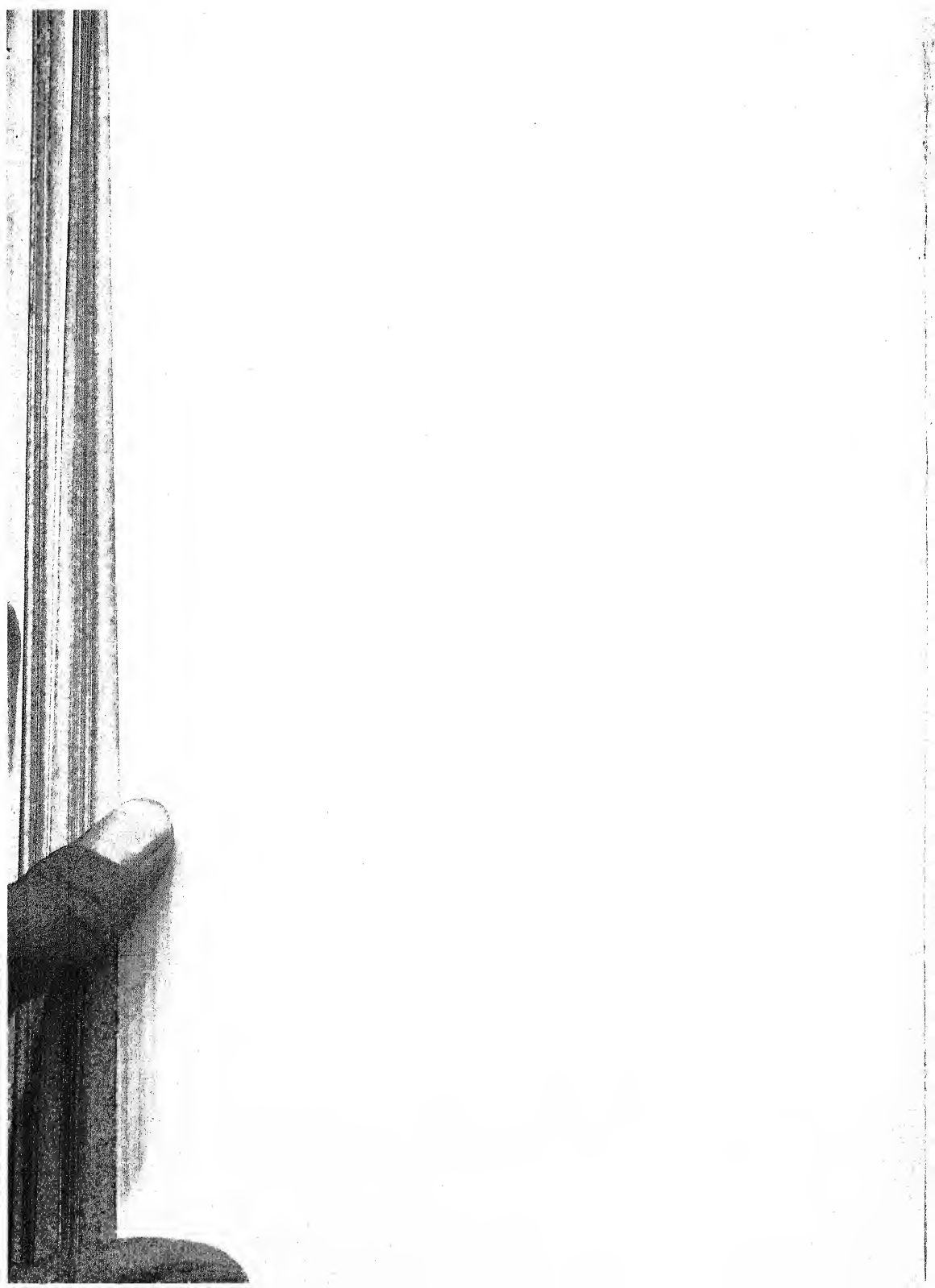
³ See above, p. 34.

⁴ For an illustration of this cave see E. Begni, *The Vatican* (New York, 1914), p. 40.

⁵ J. Seville, in *Notre Dame* (Paris), 1914, pp. 119 f.



HOUSES OF DERE-BEYS AT ADALIA



The whole, nearly, is covered with an embossed silver plate, turning it into the Vision of S. Dominic (arms extended holding cloak over protégés). The type became popular, evidently through the Genoese, in Sicily, where it still goes, as in some parts of Italy also, as *Madonna dell' Itria* or *M. di Cospoli*.

Montana,

22nd November, 1917.

I have "Imans et Derviches" by Osman Bey,¹ a curious work by a curious man: I think he was connected in some way with Dr. Millingen,² against whom he had a grievance. I fancy, too, from the looks of it he must have made CP. too hot to hold him & wrote those books as potboilers: besides this one there is "Les Anglais dans l'Orient," wh. I presented to the Finlay,³ as there is some scandalous account of Finlay's marriage⁴ in it, and "Wild Life among the Kurds," describing his life in a regiment stationed in Kurdistan. All are amusing reading, & "Imans et Derviches" has a lot of folklore in it, rather slight but informing. For me it has confirmation of my idea (*my* underlined) that the Mevlevi were tremendously important under Abdul Medjid.⁵

I have also had a book on Asia Minor⁶ by Choisy (of *l'Art de bâtir*): he says Fossati during his repairs to S. Sophia found some very fine mosaics, which he asked Abdul Medjid to allow to be seen. A.M. said, "No good, agin religion, cover 'em up—but for Gawd's sake don't destroy them, *anything* might happen"—evidently having an uneasy feeling that they were talismans & dangerous.

¹ Paris, 1881.

² Dr. Julius Millingen: see Osman Bey's book *ad init.*

³ Sc. the Finlay library of the British School at Athens.

⁴ The wrong sister eloped with Finlay from her father's house in Constantinople.

⁵ This idea is set out at length in chapter xlv of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁶ *L'Asie Mineure et les Turcs en 1875*, Paris, 1876.

Talking of mosaics, I have seen a photograph of S. Demetrius, & it seems pretty well biffed, worse luck. The Correspdt. of *L'Illustration* says he heard an old woman say, "S. Demetrius, what have we done that you should treat the town like this?" Wonder if this is true, the ordinary correspondent of course wouldn't know enough to hear such things.

Have you ever thought of the art type of Constantine & Helena as an adaptation of Adam & Eve, by whom, I suppose, they were mystically pre-figured? I didn't till the other day, but should not be surprised if it is true, I can imagine them as groups balancing each other. But I don't know how early Const. & Helena type is. There ought to be a book on Byz. art types: it would be comparatively easy though rather laborious, but disproportionately interesting results. Do you know the "Resurrection" in Byz. art before the fire at the H. Sepulchre ch. 1808? My idea is that before this they used the (so-called) descent into Hades¹ & were after 1808 influenced by the truly awful sculpture in the re-edified H.S. I have heard—of course popular error—that the descent into Hades is now considered heretical.

Montana,

27th November, 1917.

In all survivals the first man ignores the chronological gap in his theory & the public doesn't know there is one.

About the Cid,² I am wondering if I was not unconsciously cribbing Finlay.

I have also Chevrillon's "Crépuscule d'Islam," mostly about Fez, very good in its way, a trifle too good for me, who am not literary. A Moroccan wheeze for profiteering³ amused me. A merchant, whose wife died, buried 4 loaves with her tied

¹ A rare type of Greek *eikon*.

² Above, p. 41.

³ Pp. 238-9.

to her armpits & legs. This caused some comment &, being had up before the beak, he acknowledged it was a spell to make all the bread in Fez go rotten, he having a caravan of flour on its way, which would thus realise enormous profits.

Montana,

8th December, 1917.

About my idea that the superimposition of churches on temple sites had sometimes exorcism in view, I have said that S. Michael & S. George were particularly suitable dedications. A corollary of this is the prominence of these two, in our East at any rate, as saints invoked for madness. This is the same idea of exorcism, in the end based on their function as dragon (= devil) quellers.¹

Montana,

12th December, 1917.

I have got on to a fine book "Les Croyances Religieuses du Moyen Age," by A. Maury,² written in 1842 at the age of 25 about, and full of good things, chiefly hagiological. At that date it is a miracle. Amongst other things, it is a very good antidote for the theory that the "paganism" of the R.C.'s is a direct descendant of antique paganism, a view I have of course never held.

A book I have on the destruction of paganism in the E. empire³ makes me think the transference business there will be more interesting than at Rome: but all must be gone into in detail.

What do you think of this combination? At Einsiedeln⁴ the chief lion is a black Madonna, but, as far as I can get at it,

¹ See below, p. 85.

² Paris, 1896.

³ Etienne Chastel, *Histoire du Paganisme d'Orient*, Paris, 1850.

⁴ See above, p. 51.

she is not mentioned early, & in the old days it was S. Meinrad's tomb people were after. At Rocamadour in the same way the oldest traditions are of a hermit S. Amadour¹ (he sounds rather questionable), later they also ran a black Madonna. At Einsiedeln, I believe, the Madonna is supposed to have been worshipped by S. Meinrad (she isn't really older than xiii² by her looks). At Rocamadour the Madonna was carved by S. Amadour, who is identified with Zacchæus. If this is characteristic, it looks like a typical displacement of the local saint by the Virgin (and a good way to do it) analogous to the "reception"³ & similar motifs in Greek mythology.

Mudie's are offering at 7/6 (pub. 15/- remainder) 40 Turkish folk-tales translated by Kunos⁴ & illustrated. The Mrs. has got it, it is not much of a translation & has a silly preface. But I had never heard of it, had you? Personally those tales as such bore me to extinction, such a continual re-arrangement of 5 or 6 good old wheezes. He⁵ says in his glossary *in*⁶ = good spirit, opposed *djinn* = bad spirit, but I don't think this is good enough, do you? From his preface he looks to be a Turanian maniac, he says these are pure Turkish tales & unlike any other. To me they are utterly Persian, the setting is Shahnameh with the fantastic element exaggerated, the whole civilisation Persian: & of course there is no Turkish civilisation but what they cribbed from Persia direct or through the Arabs. The artist⁷ is clever but no more, & has half a dozen styles, I should say a young man just out of his schooling: he hasn't been told that "Arabs" are black.⁸

¹ J. de Smet, *Manuel Historique du Culte de la T. S. Vierge*, p. 230.

² See below, pp. 92-3.

³ e.g., of Asklepios by Amynos, for which see A. Koerte in *Athenische Mittheilungen*, xxi, pp. 307 ff., and Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heroen*, pp. 12 ff.

⁴ *Forty-four Turkish Fairy Tales*, London, 1913.

⁵ Kunus.

⁶ Peasant Turks of Macedonia informed me in 1922 that *in* means *human being* (*insan*), but this does not suit all the examples collected by Professor Halliday in Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 229, n. 2. The learned Halide Edib Hanum (Madame Adnan Bey) considers that, though the original (Arabic) meaning is certainly *insan*, the phrase *in-mi-sin* has become to most Turks a jingling anticipation of *jinn-mi-sin*.

⁷ Willy Pogany.

⁸ The allusion is to F.W.H.'s theory that "Arabs" in folk-tales of the Levant are negroes: see pp. 167 ff. of his "Mosques of the Arabs in Constantinople" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxii (1916-8).

I found out a funny thing the other day. I had noticed that saints, when they dompt dragons, very frequently put their stoles round the beasts' necks, & I concluded that this was part of the Rogations ritual. It goes even deeper & is part of the ritual of exorcising possessed persons.¹ Is there an exorcism service in the Εὐχολόγιον?² It wd. be interesting to see whether John I *in initio erat Verbum*,³ etc. is part of it, as, I believe, with the R.C.'s. I feel sure Rogations must have been invented to take the place of one of those "pagan" festivals (like your Viza⁴ thing), which died hard because they had to do with the crops. In Egypt apparently Serapis was very difficult to displace for this reason, and the measure of the Nile flood, which had been kept in his temple, was removed on his ultimate downfall to a church. It is risky to tamper with things so vital as this, a bad or insufficient Nile flood wd. have (probably) caused a strong reaction in favour of the evicted god.

What is so difficult is to see whether the "pagan" custom outed, or transmuted, by Xtianity was really religion or only superstition. For instance, in Brittany you get fairly clear cases where dolmens have been stumbling blocks, but I do not believe that they were superstitiously venerated as a true survival (i.e. of funeral rites, practised originally when dolmens were still known to be tombs), but rather in the way the oil-press stones Hogarth found in Cyprus⁵ are certainly venerated, out of mere superstitious silliness, no survival at all. This confusion has muddled people over survivals all along: they really mean two distinct things by "pagan": (1) non-Christian, primitive, superstitious, & (2) belonging to the old religion of antiquity. I think, e.g., that your Viza business⁶ is probably degraded *religion*, but such are very rare compared to the other

¹ Maury, *Croyances du Moyen Age*, p. 234, n. 2.

² There are several, note especially the prayers composed by SS. Basil and Chrysostom.

³ The whole phrase does not seem to occur, but the second prayer by S. Chrysostom contains the words ἐπιτιμᾷ σοι Κύριος, Διάβολε, ὃ ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πατρικοῦ καταβῆς, Θεὸς Λόγος.

⁴ In the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxvi (1906), pp. 191-206, Professor Dawkins described a carnival he saw at Viza in Thrace.

⁵ *Devia Cypria*, pp. 46 ff., cf. p. 41.

⁶ Above, n. 4.

set of phenomena, which are still coming into being now at the hands of witches & wizards, who are really *secular* practitioners. And I quite believe that both kinds may get Christianized with luck.

Montana,

19th December, 1917.

My last batch of books was (1) Gregorovius on Rome & Campagna¹; very good but a bit too learned for me, some very interesting things about Rome in the 50's. I particularly noticed that at Aracoeli the crèche was flanked by two columns, on which leaned the Sibyl & Augustus, the latter in Turkish dress.² I suppose, by the way, Aracoeli is in a way *the* crèche. I gather the whole business was an idea of S. Francis, & so the Bambino is *the* Bambino. Turkish dress for Augustus is queer, is it a sign that he was a pagan, like Aristotle? ³ Or a contamination with the Magi? You would have thought tradition would have been at all times too strong in Rome for a Roman emperor to appear in anything but classical dress.

Second book was Diehl's *Ravenna*,⁴ which, as I expected, had lots of photographs & is good value: French-like no plans or index, & no references in text to pictures. I think he puts the mosaics too high *as art*, but they must stagger you so with their colour. The drawing is often beastly seemingly. He is entirely of Strzygowski's opinion about origins.⁵ I notice on the throne of Maximian the Flight into Egypt is represented without the Child and the Virgin is obviously pregnant. I suppose some tradition I don't know, & ought to make the Nativity take place in Egypt, but only Egypt could have held this view (one dimly sees the Heliopolis tree would be brought under contribution), and so it wd. be a nice piece of evidence

¹ The French edition.

² Cf. above, p. 44.

³ Above, p. 44.

⁴ In the *Villes d'Art* series published at Paris.

⁵ That much western architecture derives from eastern forms.

for the provenance of the throne, if the latter wasn't very composite-looking: the reliefs differ much from one another in style & composition, & the framework quite different again: but you get that in eclectic things, and at times when pattern-books were circulated & designs pooled in this way. The Filarete doors¹ of S. Peter's have something the same contrast between panels & framework but nothing like so marked.

Montana,

17th January, 1918.

In a book of P. Mérimée's² I have come across a translation of Clavijo's (1403) description of Con'sple, which I had never read carefully. There are several interesting things in it. He says the Gks. did not call CP. CP., but "Escomboli" already (50 yrs. before the fall). Also what he says of one of the buck churches makes it clear that the closed *εικονοστάσιον*³ had only reached the curtained stage. His guide was a Genoese, Messer Ilario, who was married to a bastard daughter of the Emperor. One of the Pera inscr. (I published it,⁴ I think, from Covell) is of *Ilarius Imperialis potestas Pere*, & the Imperiali family, I believe, still exists at Genoa.⁵ There is a very good notice of the *ἀχειροποιήτα* eikons,⁶ making quite clear that, as Antoniadis⁷ says, they were freak markings in marble, and a good account of Panagia Odigitria.⁸

I have also had an idea about the dedication of Lycabettus, which is at least plausible. Of course you would expect S. Elias,⁹ what you have is (1) S. George with (2) S. Elias in a

¹ See Murray's *Handbook of Rome* (London, 1899), p. 241.

² *Études sur les Arts au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1875.

³ Screen.

⁴ On p. 55 of F.W.H.'s "Dr. Covell's Notes on Galata" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xi (1904-5).

⁵ *Idem*.

⁶ Mérimée, p. 326.

⁷ In 'H' *Ἐκφρασις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας*, Athens, 1907-9.

⁸ Mérimée, p. 333: cf. above, p. 52.

⁹ Because so often associated with hill-tops.

side-chapel. I believe this is due to Turkish influence, they identifying both saints with Khidr-Elles,¹ who is celebrated on S. George's day. Many Tk. towns have a hill called Khidrlik in the outskirts, as Gks. have S. Elias, & this is usually the place for the rain-prayer.

I have struck a very good book on Cairo² by one de Vaujany. It mentions the BT. *tekke*³ at some length & has a lot of religious folklore both Moslem & Copt. Apparently the latter show a cave in which the Holy Family took refuge—from what? Also a S. George incubation cult for lunatics I had heard of before but not so well. S. George & S. Michael, as I said before,⁴ are specialists for mental cases, because they killed dragons = devils, & madness & possession are always identified.

Just after writing this I get your fine long letter of 24.xi.17. In answer to it, the Liguorists⁵ say their Panagia came from Crete about the end of the xv c., carried by a Cretan escaping of course from those wicked Turks—well, well, only a couple of hundred years out & to do them justice, its journey & adventures were only mildly miraculous, as such things run.

I think less of the S. Clement wheeze⁶ than I did (note the advantage of having time to think!). The tide business isn't much of an argument, the idea having been current since the Dead Sea & Jordan adventures of the Clan McAbee. They may also have cribbed it from S. Michael's Mt., where the sea retired on the feast day, allowing the faithful to walk across. It still does this (pl. 14)—also on the other 364 days—but it wd. do all right for Mediterranean pilgrims,⁷ if they didn't make a long stay. As to Loretto, there is a Père Ulysse Chevalier⁸

¹ Some discussion of Khidr-Elles appears in chapter xx of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

² *Le Caire et ses Environs*, Paris, 1883.

³ Of Kaigusuz Sultan: see pp. 97-9 of F.W.H.'s "Geographical Distribution of the Bektashi" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxi (1914-6).

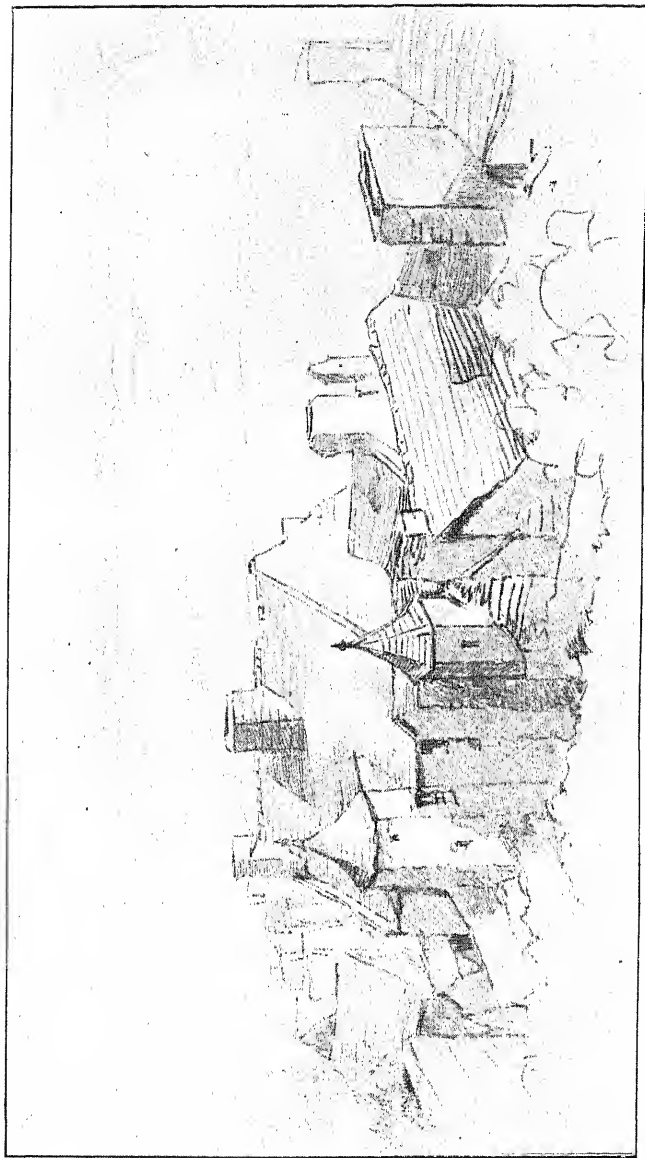
⁴ Above, p. 55.

⁵ See above, p. 49.

⁶ See above, p. 47.

⁷ The Mediterranean being tideless.

⁸ See below, p. 93, n. 4.



MONT S. MICHEL WITH THE TIDE OUT

who has, I believe, fully exposed this, and, as far as I can make out, the H.H. is not remarkable for its construction or material. Perhaps it was the hermit's cell of a man from Tersatto? ¹ They call the one at Einsiedeln "das Haus der Mutter" merely because it contains a black Virgin, and such things could be easily exploited. It is amusement & mental exercise making wheezes, but without books to check with you have to keep yourself in hand.

I suppose with regard to the Jews' blood ritual you know of a book written by a renegade rabbi in Roumania? There is all about it in R. Walsh's CP.² but I believe it was suppressed and now excessively rare. I fancy the Fête-Dieu was blowing up for some time: I had not seen it put down to the miracle of Bolsena³ in such (Cath.) books as I have read, but to the dreams of 2 nuns of Liège way: perhaps Bolsena made it official for the whole Catholic world, it often happens that a feast is authorised by a bishop for his district & afterwards extended by other bishops or the Pope.

About *nemtiche*,⁴ I was talking the other day with Passianoff⁵ (derivation is by the way Πασιά Γιάννη δγλου)⁶ & the Russian.⁷ The latter said (as I had always been told) the root-meaning was *dumb*, and it was applied to the Germans, because they were duffers who c'dn't speak the Czars' Russian—βαρβαροι in fact. It is the ordinary word in Turk for (Germans &) Austrians, when you are not speaking very exactly.

I have a book on Destr. of Paganism in W.,⁸ the text of S.

¹ Tersatto was the first place where the Holy House paused in its flight from Nazareth: see Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Critique des Reliques*, ii, 286 f.

² *Residence in Constantinople* (London, 1836), ii, 533-6.

³ As Professor Dawkins had apparently informed F.W.H., the feast of Corpus Christi was instituted to commemorate the miracle of the bleeding host of Bolsena; see Murray's *Handbook for Rome* (London, 1899), p. 260, for Raphael's painting of this subject in the Vatican.

⁴ Evidently another point raised by Professor Dawkins.

⁵ The Greek of Anapa mentioned pp. 1, 47, 49.

⁶ *Son of Yanni the Pasha*.

⁷ A fellow patient.

⁸ A. A. Beugnot, *Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident*, Paris, 1835.

Michael's miracle¹ at Chonae² (not a *trace* of a transference, whatever Ramsay says), and am after one on Transcaucasia³ where I hope to find something on Etchmiadzin, as it's by one Gulbenkian, presumably Armenian.

Montana,

29th January, 1918.

As to the Truth & Peace business,⁴ I got at the back of that eventually. The personifications come direct from Psalms ("Mercy & Truth are met together, Righteousness & Peace have kissed each other"), quite possibly used by a mystery afterwards, but there are all four in the Golden Legend version, so the ultimate source is a cert. A. Maury⁵ has put me on to a lot of things like this; the psalms have been used a lot for "prophecy," a verse here & there lugged out and put together arbitrarily, etc. Most of the Gospel of Nicodemus (Descent into Hell) is botched together out of this, and the legendary part of the Magi also. Indeed, it is obvious that, if they hadn't made the Magi *three* (Youth, Maturity, Age, or Shem, Ham, Japheth) before, they would have been *four* on the strength of "Reges Tharsis et insulæ, Reges Sebæ et Sabæ."

Since I wrote last, I have seen a reproduction of a Bellini "Preaching of S. Mark at Alexa" very like yours.⁶ I imagine Gentile brought back full notebooks; all the background, except a reminiscence of S. Mark's, Venice, is Egyptian, including an obelisk & a minaret based on Touloun.⁷

About Digenes,⁸ how much of the Chanson de Geste do you

¹ Max Bonnet, *De Miraculo a Michaelis Archangelo Chonis patrato*, Paris, 1890. A summary of the miracle is given by Mr. G. F. Hill on p. 155 of his "Apollo and St. Michael," for which see above, p. 43. n. 3.

² In W. Phrygia, now Khonas.

³ C. S. Gulbenkian, *La Transcaucasie*, Paris, 1891.

⁴ Above, p. 50.

⁵ See above, p. 55, n. 2.

⁶ Which has Oriental characteristics.

⁷ See above, p. 25.

⁸ See above, p. 41.

suppose comes from the Arabs? It would be a nice job, and a peaceful, to work through, say, Roland & some of the others, where the scene is more or less the frontier, & find how they squared with Sidi Battal¹ & the Shahnameh: you might find a lot of correspondence. I suppose the Arabs of Charlemagne's time were much more civilized than Charlemagne's lot, their decadence came so soon.

About the Sibyls I thought they gained their reputation among the Xtians in the first place owing to the so-called Sibylline oracles, forged in the early centuries by Alexandrian Xtians, with a view to converting pagans. Is it so much respect for antiquity that made mediævals fake up "survivals" as the incipient theory of continuous revelation? The ideas run into one another as "continuous revelation" is partly a device to excuse God's injustice in damning wholesale the centuries that never had a chance. The false Sibyls seem to me the key to the whole.

Re "finding" what you want to find, do you know that at S. George's (Rotunda), Salonica, the hodja at the Greek conquest "revealed" an ancient *eikon* of St. G., hidden of course at the Turkish conquest but unfortunately xviii c. at earliest. While we are at Salonica—I find in a German book² that Eski Djuma stands *angeblich* on the site of a temple of Venus. You remember, of course, its details are quite fairly classical. I suspect the equation is Djuma = Friday (presumably it was the Friday mosque, before S. Demetrius was taken over) = Veneris dies, the same—I think erroneous—reasoning which makes the Greeks call it 'Αγία Παρκενή.

I'm glad you like the Sacred Stones.³ Most people seem to: it is a nice clear-up. I see E. Deschamps sticks to the idea⁴ that the Cyprian monoliths are phallic menhirs & says they are conical. In this case it is stupid of him to illustrate the big one at *Paphos* (the key to the whole copulatory position), which is rectangular.

I have got new stuff for the Bektashi at Cairo from Edmonds,⁵

¹ See above, p. 41, n. 5.

² Carl Braun-Wiesbaden, *Eine Türkische Reise*, Stuttgart, 1876.

³ F.W.H.'s "Stone Cults and Venerated Stones in the Græco-Turkish Area" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxi (1914-6), pp. 62-83.

⁴ In *Menhirs Percés de Chypre*, in *L'Anthropologie*, Paris, 1896, vii, no. 1.

⁵ See above, p. 3, n. 2.

& hope some day to tackle Mark Sykes¹ on the subject, who I know has theories—I think rather masonic²—but I expect information also, especially on Kurdistan, about which I can find nothing, though I know certain Kurds are in with the BTs. So I hope, even if I don't get to Asia Minor, the eventual edition³ will be an improvement.

Montana,

31st January, 1918.

I have got the "Villes d'Art" book on Bologna,⁴ which makes it clear that the Rotunda of the S. Stefano group of churches was originally the baptistery of the adjoining basilica & didn't get called S. Sepolcro till after the conquest of Jerusalem, which is what I wanted of course. Also, the tomb in it has really nothing in common with the old H.S. S. Sepolcro at Pisa seems to be on the lines of our Round churches and of similar date, but these books⁵ hardly ever give plans, never sections, & you can only guess. I am not at all clear what the original (Constantine's) church of the H.S. was like. Wasn't it four basilicas converging on the rotunda with the sepulchre? It would be a fine plan if, as I suppose, the rotunda was always open or at least top-lighted, and the only parallel I know of the church of S. Simeon Stylites,⁶ where, if I remember right, the column stood similarly in a central court between four arms.

At Chios I should like to dig the site of S. Isidore, which old writers speak of as a rotunda with mosaics: the site is still venerated.

¹ The late Sir Mark Sykes.

² Some authorities vaguely connect Bektashism with Freemasonry.

³ Of the article "Geographical Distribution of the Bektashi," which will be republished as chapter xlii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁴ P. de Bouchaud, *Bologne*, Paris, 1909.

⁵ In the "Villes d'Art" series.

⁶ At Kelat Seman: see Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, ii, 423-4, and fig. 851.

I do not know your pretty Venetian house motto.¹ A great many Venetian coats are given in a book at the School² indexed under Coronelli, as the plates in it (there is no text) are mostly derived from him & I am nearly sure he did a Venetian heraldry.

I think I have read somewhere that the Venetians located the tomb of Zeus on Ida,³ which the survivalists, I suppose, rapturously hail as an ancient tradition. I am convinced time and the Saracens gave people something else to think of, and that these "survivals" all date not much, if any, earlier than the Renaissance.

I have read the "Golden Legend" in a French crib, which happened to be in the Geneva library.⁴ The editor⁵ says it is a work of vulgarisation, implying it was really for laymen. As the author⁶ was a Dominican, I think it was really a preachers' handbook, wh. idea is borne out by the form. It is Acta SS. and church calendar, with a lot of moral tales (includes Barlaam), and the reasons for feasts and lessons to be derived are often tabulated as for the headings of a sermon. It is very interesting & Maury says only to be equalled as a source for the religious colour of its time by Cæsarius de Heisterbach *de Miraculis*, which I must get at.

Baedeker says⁷ at Le Puy "in the suburb . . . is the so-called 'Temple of Diana,' a chapel of the xii cent., used either by the Knights Templar, or as a baptistery, or as a funeral chapel." Evidently a round building on the model of the H.S., called a temple as being round & associated with Templars. A very interesting combination for my views.⁸

¹ In Crete, where he was at this time, Professor Dawkins had seen *nulli parvus est census cui magnus est animus* inscribed on a Venetian house.

² British School, Athens.

³ I cannot find F.W.H.'s authority for this statement. Polites (*Μελέραι*, ii, n. on no. 174) discusses the tomb.

⁴ Librairie Circulante Richard: this edition is Paris, 1902.

⁵ T. de Wyzewa.

⁶ Jacobus de Voragine.

⁷ *Southern France* (1902), p. 254.

⁸ See above, p. 64.

Montana,

16th February, 1918.

As things go, I am not so well just now ; having a tempera-
ture, I am kept in bed, but it is not enough to make me feel
bad or stop me reading & thinking. I expect you are more
or less bound to have spells like this.

To return to business. I think you would find a lot of
historical facts to account for the connection between Cypriote
& Anatolian similarities.¹ The kingdom of Cyprus was always
in close touch with Armenia & Karamania for trading pur-
poses—I think B. de la Brocquière² met a relation of L.
Machaeras³ at Karaman trading—and the Armenian kingdom
was probably pretty tolerable for Greeks. All one can see of
the Konia Seljouks points the same way.⁴ When Christian
Armenia broke up, lots of Anatolian Greeks probably refugeed
to Cyprus. And we have got (1) funny Greek talked still at
Eregli⁵ in mid xvi c. and (2) a Greek village population,
probably Turcophone, but I am almost sure absorbed since, as
late as early xix c. in Cilicia.⁶ In Cyprus, on the other hand,
though in religion there has been of course some inducement
to apostatize since 1572, the Greek language has always more
than held its own—as you know, Cypriote Turks talk it in the
villages—and has been rather conveniently out of touch with
the big Greek centres. The place to go for work must always
in Tk. times have been Egypt, which is (certainly *was*) much
less Greek than Con'sple or Smyrna, and lots of Cyprus seems
to be quite home-keeping at that.

A propos of the Cyprus-Karamanian connection, I suggested
to the RP. Delehaye⁷ that the entirely inexplicable "German
saints" (ἐξ Ἀλεμανίας) of Cyprus were derived from a faulty
rendering of Ἀτταλείας τῆς Καραμανίας. S. Mamas⁸ of Morfou

¹ A propos of Professor Dawkins' interest in the Greek spoken in Cyprus and Asia Minor.

² In Wright's *Early Travels*, p. 321 ("Léon Maschero, a Cypriote gentleman, who spoke very tolerable French").

³ A mediæval Greek writer, author of *Χρονικὸν Κύπρου*, ed. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, ii.

⁴ See F.W.H.'s article, "Plato in the Folk-Lore of the Konia Plain," in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xviii (1911-2), pp. 265-9.

⁵ Kybistra-Herakleia, 190 kilometres rail from Konia towards Adana.

⁶ Barker, *Lares and Penates*, pp. 355 ff.

⁷ See above, p. 1.

⁸ In Cyprus : see E. Deschamps, *Au Pays d'Aphrodite*, p. 168.

came, I think, from Alaya, Ala-ed-din's attempted port¹ for Konia; there is even now some trade between Karaman & Cyprus via Selefki, & one of the Lusignans thought it worth his while to take & hold Adalia. In Cilicia Ayas and Korykos were the jumping-off places.

I found a nice thing for Hill² the other day. In his paper,³ p. 145, he prudently refuses to discuss a church τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατηγοῦ τοῦ Ἀνατέλλοντος at CP. as a connection between Michael & Apollo Helios. I had Rambaud *Et. Byz.*⁴ the other day to read the article on Digenes,⁵ and found in the Hippodrome article that there was a popular charioteer Ἀνατέλλον, so it looks as if he was κτίτωρ⁶ of the church. I don't suppose it was his name of course, probably an admirer had compared him in full cry to the Rising Sun as charioteer. All in the air, but so far plausible, & Hill can worry it out. Rambaud says the charioteers were very pi. & superstitious, & there was a good deal of magic used to queer opposing teams. Perhaps A. escaped some sorcery by St. M.'s help.

In the Digenes article⁷ I note the occurrence of "Philopappos" as an outlaw chief, & remember to have seen in Polites or Kambouroglou⁸ that the Ph. of the Athens monument was supposed to have had a row with Digenes. What Rambaud didn't make clear was whether the isolated lays about Digenes were derived from the big poem or the other way about.

On S. Januarius his blood I have recently read an interesting article by Saintyves,⁹ which seems to shew clearly that the liquefaction is due to temperature. It always comes off practi-

¹ See Murray's *Handbook for Asia Minor* (London, 1895), pp. 174-5.

² Mr. G. F. Hill.

³ "Apollo and St. Michael," for which see above, p. 43, n. 3.

⁴ *Études sur l'Histoire Byzantine*, Paris, 1912.

⁵ See above, p. 41, n. 4.

⁶ *Founder*.

⁷ Rambaud, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁸ Kambouroglous, *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας* (Athens, 1889-1900), i, 193-5.

⁹ *Les Reliques et les Images Légendaires* (Paris, 1912), pp. 5-55. A vessel containing S. Januarius' blood is preserved in the Cathedral at Naples, and the blood liquefies twice a year, in May and September respectively. See Baedeker, *Southern Italy* (1903), p. 53.

cally in the summer festivals, fairly often fails in winter. A candle is held close to the reliquary so that people can see the miracle (?).

Re S. Joseph, Solomon¹ says J.M.J.² is the new Trinity of the Jesuits. As I make out, he³ has a value of old standing as intercessor for the dying (this comes, I think, already in Golden Legend). His recent development has been as patron of family life and also, I fancy, as *craftsman* for Catholic-Socialism propaganda purposes. But I think he was already patron of carpenters,⁴ which is natural enough.

The mediator view of Christ is surely clear enough in Gospels (e.g. "No man cometh unto the Father but by Me") & Epistles (e.g. "We have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ"). In the Middle Ages the BV. was supposed to supplicate Christ, Who in turn supplicated the Father (this comes out in Hill's Michael paper),⁵ not our doing. I quite agree it is (what we call) Oriental. As soon as you get the God + Man combination, you get into difficulties by laying stress on one side or the other. Nearly all important heresies came from this paradox. The development of the Sacrament tends towards the God side, visions like Marie Alacoque's (Sacred Heart)⁶ towards the human, ordinary saints acting in the same way. What is really curious in Engd. is that Christ is invoked for anything people want for themselves, God (Jehovah) mainly for drastic action against people we don't approve of. But of course that is the Jewish aspect of Jehovah taken on & emphasized by the Prots.

You may be amused to have this yarn early⁷ :—

Un pacha de *Kaysar*,⁸ choqué d'entendre parler grec, défendit sous peine de la vie de se servir d'une autre langue que de la turque. Depuis cette défense, les chrétiens de *Kaysar*

¹ Monsieur Salomon Reinach.

² Joseph, Mary, Jesus.

³ Sc. Joseph.

⁴ 19th March.

⁵ See above, p. 43. The reference here is to pp. 149-150 of Mr. Hill's paper.

⁶ Above, p. 33.

⁷ This and similar "yarns" are commonly spun by modern Greeks.

⁸ The modern Kaisariyeh, the ancient Caesarea Mazaca, in Cappadocia.

& d'Angura ne parlent que le turc, & n'entendent même plus leur propre langue. From Carsten Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, en Suisse, 1780, II, 276.

Montana,

25th February, 1918.

I have had Diehl's essay on Digenes¹ to read & find it (for what I want) much inferior to Rambaud's². Of course it is written for a wider public like *Figures Byzantines* in general, but I am surprised to find he puts all the non-Frankish elements down to Byzantium, whereas to my mind a great deal of it is purely Oriental, Arab influence coming, in the main stream, from Syria & Mesopotamia (strong Persian influence at the back of that via Bagdad) and, secondarily, through the Frankish *chansons de geste* later, the influence of which is acknowledged for the late Byzantine poems of this type. I feel no doubt that the Knightly ideal is very much older in Persia than in any part of Europe, you see it even in ancient Persia, and I fail to see that the Byzantines ever had it. Your Digenes is not a hereditary noble but a Byzantine official in command, not of his own people, but of Byzantine armies.

He³ also puts down to the Byzantines, as opposed to the Franks, a love of nature; this to me is again distinctly an Oriental, particularly Persian, characteristic, which they have kept all along in their love of water & trees for their beauty and nothing else, together with a curious & quite natural feeling that a beautiful spring or tree *was* a person (witness Darius "fairest of men" celebrating Tearus "fairest of rivers" & Xerxes decorating a fine tree with gold ornaments and appointing a guardian⁴ for it), quite a different idea from the Greek, which imagines always that the tree or spring is haunted by an anthropomorphic *numen*, or represents a metamorphosed human being.

¹ *Figures Byzantines* (2nd series), Paris, 1909, pp. 291-319.

² Above, p. 67, n. 4.

³ i.e., Diehl.

⁴ References will be found in chapter xiv of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

Another interesting book I have had is Carsten Niebuhr's *Arabia*,¹ unfortunately an abridged edition, in which I find reference to a superstition, current according to Polites in Greece, of a plant which turns the teeth of animals that eat it yellow (please examine Cretan sheep)² & is supposed to be an infallible tip for making gold.³ It grows on mountains (Arabia & Lebanon are cited) and of course no one can find it—but that is why Franks pretend they are botanists. I was already on the tracks of it à propos of that man Gridley who died after an attempted ascent of Argæus & was supposed to have been done in by the dragon in charge of the plant, as he ascended from one village & descended (alone) on another side of the mountain.

Another amusing thing was that the Arabs thought that, as the only gold coins they ever saw were the (very pure) Venetian ducats, the V. must have the secret of the philosopher's stone.⁴ There is a tale in Carnoy & Nicolaidēs⁵ of a King of Hungary, to whom a dervish divulged this secret on condition that he put the dervish's figure on the coins he struck. This, I think, alludes to a rather archaic figure of S. Ladislaus on some early Hungarian ducats—even maybe the Christ on Venetian. He⁶ also says that immense quantities of Venetian ducats & German dollars (Maria Theresas evidently) were exported from Moka in his time, 1765, in exchange for Indian goods, Moka trade being all coffee for the W. This shows the link-up of the V. ducat to India (I daresay via the Gulf, too) and also how early the M.T. dollars (which still go, I believe, in S. Arabia) got their vogue.

A French friend tells me that the triad (J.S. & T.) Reinach are often spoken of as J(e) S(ais) T(out)!

¹ See above, p. 69.

² Professor Dawkins was now in Crete.

³ A short discussion of the gold plant, the Oriental view of Franks as pretended botanists, and Gridley will be found in chapter xlix of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁴ Niebuhr, *op. cit.* ii, 306, 393.

⁵ *Traditions Populaires de l'Asie Mineure*, pp. 245 ff.

⁶ Niebuhr.

Montana,

1st March, 1918.

I think I told you when we first came here one of the Greeks¹ lent me two vols. of the *Μικρασ. Ἡμερολόγιον*. In it I spotted a short article by a military doctor on folk-medicine in Epirus. He came across a sorcerer of repute and got a little out of him, including a receipt for relieving reluctant mules. The charm consisted in tying the names of the four rivers of Paradise to the four hoofs of the mule (the names were in a pretty bad way, I remember *Τάγαρις* and *Εὐφράνθη*, but clear enough, though I doubt very much if the doctor realised what it was all about), and repeating an appropriate exorcism. It seems to me this way. Mules habitually relieve themselves at streams and are often encouraged to; when there isn't a stream & the muleteer thinks it advisable, he distracts the mule from thinking of the road by taking it off the track & whistles, imitating the stream (or, if you like, the sound of passing water). In bad cases you get a special man to put the mule under the influence of the super-rivers by the suggestion of their names, and the powers of darkness cave in. This seems to me to be very illuminating for the theory of sympathetic magic, which no one has ever attempted to explain to me yet—they always say, "that was how primitive man thought," & leave it at that. But here you have a case, where quite simple people have found by experience that they can influence beasts by suggestion in such a way that *imitating a river brings about the effect of a real river*. It is of course abundantly true of men, e.g. a war dance, imitating the gestures of war, makes people feel warlike & brave, whence (from such things, I mean) the mimetic side of sympathetic magic (called, I believe, "dromena" !).

Another side probably important is the use of bait & decoys in fishing & hunting. A small fish may attract a big one or a shoal. Suppose you haven't a small fish handy, what are you to do? Civilized man makes a spoon bait, primitive man (sometimes anyway) gets a stone shaped like a fish & ties it on to his boat. The point is that the evidence to primitive man for the efficacy of sympathetic magic is just as good

¹ See above, p. 49.

as for, say, miraculous cures. In both cases a certain number of things come off really & regularly, though perhaps not for the supposed reasons, a certain number are lucky flukes, & a certain number are failures. From the successes is derived the theory of the efficacy of sympathetic magic in general and on this basis it elaborates, extending the principle known to be fairly successful with men and animals to the weather, etc. In fact Zeus Ombrios is treated exactly like the reluctant mule!

On quite another tack. Have you read two "Byzantine" romances of the xiii-xiv centuries discussed by Diehl, *Fig. Byz.* II? ¹ One is about some people called Beltrandos & Rodophilos (names Frankish, as he says), who have adventures in Antioch & Egypt. I did not read very carefully but it has occurred to me since, everything points to *Cypriote* Frankish origin; note in particular the castle of the God of Love, wh. is the scene of a long episode. D. doesn't appear to know that there is a castle of this name (otherwise S. Hilarion) in Cyprus near Kyrenia. I daresay you did, but I put it in as maybe the romances in question may come into your purview. I don't believe there is anything Byzantine in the Castle of the God of Love idea, it seems to me the merest troubadourism complicated with talismans, etc., in the oriental manner.

I have had 2 villes d'art, Troyes² and Florence.³ They are very unequal.

Montana,

5th March, 1918.

The Albanian⁴ told me a curious thing about the cult of something or somebody at Mt. Tomor near Berat.⁵ There is a panegyris⁶ there in full summer, he doesn't know the date but I suspect July 20 (S. Elias), the more so as the local BT's

¹ Pp. 320-353. For the book see above, p. 69, n. 1.

² Morel-Payen, *Troyes et Provins*, Paris.

³ E. Gebhart, *Florence*, Paris, 1906.

⁴ Fadil Bey Klissura, a fellow-patient.

⁵ In Central Albania.

⁶ *Religious picnic.*

say the mountain is haunted by a saint called Abbas Ali and the equation Ali=Elias is made elsewhere (Kalkandelen)¹. On this occasion certain pious people start out on pilgrimage to the top, the panegyris being held lower down; they are generally held up by the atmospheric pressure making their noses bleed, which the BT. tell them is due to the power of the saint, who does not wish them to go further. I daresay you will remember the Armenians say it is impossible to go up Ararat & impious to try, & will not believe that anyone has done it. So also Moses alone cd. go up Horeb. I expect this has contributed to the sacred prestige of high mountains all over.

Do you know if the Dodona question is really settled by definite evidence? Carapanos² has a bad reputation and, though I have not been there, the Dodona site³ does not go well with the barbaric sanctity of the rain-god described by Homer. Of course, it is possible that they made a false identification in classical times, but I should have thought a conspicuous mountain was a desideratum, though the inhabited sanctuary may have been under it. I cannot see, for instance, how a mountain like Argæus⁴ could have been worshipped on its summit, & I assume that the altar figured regularly on the Græco-Roman coins was lower down, very probably on what they now call the Mt. of S. Basil. The same thing applies more or less to the convent of Sinai in relation to the mountain and to Lavra⁵ in relation to Athos.

Do you know anything about the Albanian colonies in Italy?⁶ I have just come across a curious little book in the Manuali Hoepli⁷ (3 fr.) by A. Stratico which, though in many

¹ See p. 110 of F.W.H.'s "Ambiguous Sanctuaries" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xx (1913-4). Kalkandelen is in an Albanian district of Serbian Macedonia. In 1923 Albanians told me that Christians and Moslems alike attend the panegyris, the Christians calling the saint Elias, the Moslems calling him Ali. They said, however, that the panegyris takes place in August. Evidently the cult is at present in a fluid state.

² C. Carapanos, the excavator of the site now accepted as that of Dodona: see his *Dodone et ses Ruines*, Paris, 1878.

³ Near Yannina and on quite low ground.

⁴ In Cappadocia, near Kaisariyeh.

⁵ Lavra, the oldest monastery of Mount Athos, see Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries*, ch. xxvi.

⁶ These colonies date from the fifteenth century, when great numbers of Albanians took refuge in Italy from the Turks. The best account of them which I know is in Hahn's *Albanesischen Studien*, i, 31, n. 52.

⁷ The publishers of Milan.

ways very bad, has interesting stuff in it and a good deal of translation, also the most impudent bibliography ever printed. The title is *Grammatica Albanese* & it concerns the Italian Albanians nearly entirely. There have been some fine geysers at work connecting up the Caucasian & the Illyrian Albanians evidently, & this connection is clearly now an article of faith. Also they are much flattered by being identified with the Pelasgians. Pouqueville¹ is considered a shining light, Leake² almost unknown: "N. Greece" is, of course, a very scarce work. Nearly all the books on the Italian Albanians seem to be printed at hole & corner places & probably in very small editions, so must be very hard to come by. They are probably eagerly looked out for by the persons interested, too. A chap called Variboba seems to be some good, but his work can hardly be found. He is the author of very rustic religious poetry³ & published in 1762. His stuff seems to have caught on very much among the real people, & I expect this suggested the composition of such poems to the R.C. missionaries in N. Albania, and through them the idea got to the BT. nationalist poet, Naim Bey Frasheri,⁴ who has written a passion poem in S. Albanian on Kerbela and other religious poems. I suspected this already. He is the author of the BT. pamphlet I got translated⁵ and on the literary side may be regarded as the founder of the Albanian nationalist movement of '82. His brothers Abdul and Sami were also in it, A. leading the rebellion & S. doing the literary touch at CP., but S. was more a Turkish savant, his great work being the encyclopædia *Kamus-el-Islam*, the most learned work of its time and country. The family is BT. and of course they are the only enlightened Mussulmans in Albania, the Ghegs being good fanatical Sunnis incapable of new ideas or progress.

¹ *Travels in Epirus*, London, 1820, etc.

² Both Leake and Pouqueville were consuls at the court of Ali Pasha of Yannina. Personally I think the Albanians read Pouqueville rather than Leake, because until lately very few of them knew English, whereas many knew French.

³ Extracts with translations are given by Stratico.

⁴ Frasheri is in South Albania.

⁵ i.e., from the original Albanian. It is now chapter xliii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

Montana,

11th March, 1918.

Do you know how a camera obscura works? I found in Niebuhr¹ the Egyptian peasants who looked through his sextant saw their village upside down & concluded he was working magic to destroy it. I very nearly got hustled myself trying to draw the Green Mosque at Boulak (pl. 15), and found afterwards that the minaret was much shorter than it is shown in David Roberts' drawing. D.R. was originally a scene painter & made very elaborate drawings about the 40's. I am wondering whether he used a camera obscura & whether, if you look into these, you see the image upside down as evidently in a sextant. If someone looked in & the minaret fell shortly after, it wd. be easy enough to understand the feeling against Franks drawing their mosque, about which the superstition seems very strong from what I heard in Cairo.

Can you get anything about the *female* saint of the New Gate at Candia? I couldn't² except that she was female. It looked to me as if the wall had at some time fallen, disclosing a Venetian vault in the thickness of the wall. When saints turn in their graves, it is well-known that walls *do* fall,³ there may be nothing more in it. I am always very interested in female saints and am sure there is a lot to be made of them. They are often converted Christian princesses, sometimes she-ghazis.

Do you know the *motif* of the "flying castle"? I have met with it in a story,⁴ apparently Egyptian, but evidently belonging to the Arabo-Persian cycle, and at Bosra,⁵ where a ruin is called Kasr Tayaran (flying).⁶ I am wondering if one thread of the Santa Casa story⁷ is not to be looked for along these

¹ *Voyage en Arabie* (Amsterdam, 1776-80), i, 39 f.

² At our visit in 1915.

³ For this see F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, chapter xvi.

⁴ "Mahommed l'Avisé" in Spitta Bey's *Contes Arabes Modernes*, Leyden, 1883.

⁵ The ancient capital of the Hauran in Syria.

⁶ D'Oppenheim in *Tour du Monde*, 1899, p. 364.

⁷ Of Loretto, see above, p. 47.

lines, but I *must* get at Chevalier & see what the facts of the whole business are.

I have found a mosque of the 40 at Suez,¹ where are buried 40 Sheikhs executed by Napoleon. What a warning to survivalists!

Antenor² was discovered in 1274, and they knew it was him, because a local blackcoat³ said it was! He does not appear to have been very large size.⁴

Montana,

18th March, 1918.

Ridgeway is apparently quite enthusiastic over my Transferences,⁵ & I am very pleased. He does not seem to know my printed stuff,⁶ so it must have been rather surprising, and I know well enough it's good stuff in its funny way.

I have a book of Dapontes to look up, called *Καθρέπτρις Γυναίκων* (Leipzig, 1766). Leipzig as a neo-Greek press 1766 is interesting. I put it down to the fur-trade & patriotic Greeks from Kastoria⁷ more than to the university. I don't know anything of the kind (I suppose it to be) in Greek of that date, which is rather a backwater.

I came across in a book I have recently got from Lausanne on the S. of France⁸ a very interesting description of a Provençal "ferrade"⁹ or rounding up of half-wild cattle for branding,

¹ Pp. 23-4 of Le Boulicaut's *Au Pays des Mystères*, Paris, 1913.

² See above, p. 42.

³ Sc. schoolmaster.

⁴ As a "man of old" usually was.

⁵ Now Part I of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*: a copy had been sent to Sir William Ridgeway for his opinion.

⁶ i.e., what had been printed in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* on the interplay of Christianity and Islam.

⁷ Kastoria is the main centre of the Macedonian fur-trade, for which reason its merchants have for centuries frequented the fur fairs of Leipzig.

⁸ A. L. Millin, *Voyage dans les Départements du Midi de la France*, Paris, 1807-11.

⁹ Millin, iv, 11-23.



THE MOSQUE OF BULAK, CAIRO

Face p. 76

& I thought of Evans and Cnossos.¹ The cowboy's game must lie at the back of all bull-fighting & ταυροκαθάρια & in Provence it is still very natural: the mounted man (picador) seems the important person, though the tripping for branding gives more scope for acrobatic feats. The primitive bull-ring seems to be a laager of carts. Girls sometimes take part; in Spain of course there are famous bull viragines educated for the job & very skilful.

This book on S. France gives me great sport, especially for the round church & temple theory.² I gather the early Celto-geyzers ran a wheeze that the Druids had 8-gonal temples & so roped in early baptisteries of this form, anything which wasn't definitely Gothic and looked barbarous being put down for frightfully, undatably old. Another very interesting thing is that the *real* but rectangular temples of Vienne & Nismes (Maison Carrée), both of which were turned into churches at various periods of their chequered career, as also into most other things, were not considered temples but ancient civil buildings. The Vienne one was thought Pilate's judgment hall, that gent. figuring in all districts where there is a Mt. Pilatus, and the learned opinion was still in the early 18's that it was a prætorium. The question of the Maison Carrée was settled by Séguier's reading³ the inscription from the letter-holes, but even then they wouldn't believe the Vienne one was a temple.⁴

Millin was a very learned Napoleonic antiquary, with a down on the 8-gonal Druid temple theory. He mentions several places in France where the palindrome νίψον ἀνομήματα was used for *bénitiers*.⁵

¹ See e.g., pp. 94-6 of the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vii (1900-1).

² See below, pp. 233-243.

³ Millin, *op. cit.* iv, 216. Séguier's dates are 1703-84.

⁴ See further below, p. 240.

⁵ Millin, *op. cit.* i, 143. The palindrome continues μή μόνον δύν. Villotte, *Voyages d'un Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1730), p. 14, records the same palindrome on a *bénitier* in S. Sophia.

Montana,

24th March, 1918.

I have had a great stroke of luck in the book way¹ & am getting one chapter of the new transferences² shaped in my head. As thus:

Considering a number of churches cited as converted temples, one is led to wonder what is the evidence for these traditions & how old they are. As far as I am at present, my cogitations eliminate nearly all supposed church-temples in France & shake up badly undocumented "traditions" elsewhere. The truth is, there is no truly popular Roman "tradition" in France. If you leave them alone, they will attribute buildings they can't explain to their own historical cycles, sacred (Bible or Acta SS) or profane (Roland cycle & other local lights, or fairies).³ The "Roman" tradition is due to learned infiltration, like the Greek in Greece bar certain cycles like Alexander. "Philopappos" e.g., is a man with whom Digenes fought.⁴ I believe the same is very much true of most parts of Italy; only a very few famous or infamous names from Classical tradition have crept into the purely popular stratum, and even (I should say) most of those at a comparatively late date. Antenor at Padua⁵ early shows the sort of thing which spread itself in the 16th & following centuries, so as to be within the reach of any country geyzer. "Tradition," as regards Roman buildings in France anyway, I think also everywhere, is worth exactly nix as evidence, tradition *re* Druids *less*.

¹ Millin.

² i.e., "Round Temple and Round Church" (below, pp. 233-243) for his projected *Transferences from Paganism to Christianity*.

³ Evidence of this appears frequently, e.g., in Sébillot's *Folklore de France*, iv, *passim*: Quicherat, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* (Paris, 1895), p. 479.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 67.

⁵ See above, p. 42.

Montana,

3rd April, 1918.

I have had a rather good book on Romanesque architecture by one Corroyer¹ in an infamous series of textbooks on art. By rather good I mean chiefly that it has a lot of pictures and plans. He is very interested in Byzantine, Arab, and Sicilian-Norman work, also in Roman and Syrian, but you would think there was no such thing as Romanesque in Italy. I think this is simply chauvinism. I suppose some one said Romanesque was not a French invention and there are much earlier examples in Italy. so he got sick; it is a pity "democracy" or something doesn't stop these ways of thinking.

I can't find anything to support my idea that cruciform fonts were Syrian,² so expect it is all rot. What is interesting, & I didn't know it, is that you get the cross-in-square plan, dome over, in a Syrian *civil* building already in the 2nd c. A.D.³

In a book on Bayeux by a man obviously a good scholar in mediaeval I come across a characteristic piece of sloppiness about survivals, I suspect inserted out of deference to local authorities (I quote⁴ so as not to pervert):—"Son (Bayeux) temple, bien probablement, se trouvait à l'endroit même où a été bâtie la cathédrale, ou, plus exactement, celle-ci s'élève sur les ruines d'une plus ancienne église qui a remplacé le temple gallo-romain consacré peut-être à une divinité gauloise, au dieu Belenus, l'Apollon gaulois. Quand on abaissa, vers le milieu du xix siècle le niveau de la petite place située au Midi de la basilique, on trouva une quantité considérable de blocs de grand appareil, dont plusieurs étaient sculptés." Ergo, if you find squared blocks on Ludgate Hill, it is *very probable* that S. Paul's occupies the site of a temple, perhaps of Vishnu.

I am subscribing for a month to a library at Montreux⁵—

¹ E. Corroyer, *L'Architecture Romane*, Paris, 1888 (Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts).

² Expressed to Professor Dawkins in connection with his article on cruciform fonts in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xix (1912-3), pp. 123-132, for which, as Professor Dawkins acknowledges, F.W.H. contributed material.

³ Corroyer, figs. 6 and 7: cf. M. Briggs, *Muhammadian Architecture*, p. 12.

⁴ H. Prentout, *Caen et Bayeux*, Paris, 1909, p. 106.

⁵ The English Library, Territet, Montreux.

English—which has some things I want, notably Story's *Roba di Roma*, wh. I fancy is good reading from snippets in Hare.¹ I wish I had been in time for Papal Rome, I might have avoided the war, too. They have also Conder's *Syrian Stone Lore*,² perhaps with tips for those who know, and Doughty's *Arabia*, which I want to read. And what about Plunket, E. M., *Anct. Calendars and Constellations*? Either *hopeless* geyzing or quite interesting.³ I have not heard either of the "Græco-Roman" church before, on the customs of which a Mr. Romanoff⁴ (? late Grand Duke ?) contributes a volume.

Montana,

11th April, 1918.

The frontier is still shut, weather still unsettled, me still in bed, and offensive still going on. I seek refuge from all these woes in writing to you.

Some books turned up yesterday, including a little book of Allard⁵ on the arts under the early Christian emperors. It is really a polemic to prove that the Christians dearly loved the arts & never knocked anything about except in the interests of the faith, so incidentally it touches on the transformation of temples. My own idea⁶ is, as you know, that, in Rome at least, temples were transformed in the bad period for building, such as were then standing or usable, & without the least reference to their antecedent sanctity, civil buildings being used in exactly the same way.

There is a very nice passage given from Cod. Theodos.⁷ in which it is ordered that temples are to be destroyed (*destrui si quae etiam nunc restant integra, collocationeq : venerandae*

¹ *Walks in Rome*.

² See below, p. 82.

³ It proved valueless for F.W.H.

⁴ See below, p. 89.

⁵ P. Allard, *L'Art Païen sous les Empereurs Chrétiens*, Paris, 1879.

⁶ See above, p. 47.

⁷ Allard, p. 262.

Xtianæ religionis signi expiari).¹ A learned legist, followed² of course by our friend, comments that this does not mean destroy (for which the word is *destruere*) but re-dedicated as churches. This *cannot* be honest to my mind. It means that they must be destroyed and a cross set up on the spot to disinfect it. The funny thing is the commentator seems to have been a prot., xvii century, and the explanation, I suppose, is that *they*³ were then out to prove that the whore of Babylon was in all possible ways a damnable heiress of paganism. Now comes catholic Allard (approved by Arslan Baba⁴ xiii) and uses this bit of quibbling with the text to back up his own side.

Allard is so good a Catholic that he thinks Constantine a forerunner of the Renaissance, & that the arts revived enormously at his time owing to his plundering of heathen temples to adorn CP. But of course nobody was in a state to profit by this & sculpture continued to go down, though the Roman tradition of building survived till Justinian, with all that could be transmitted in the way of craftsmanship. It seems to me that a state with money & security can always have crafts up to a certain level, but not arts, unless the people are fit. This is what has happened in India, and accounts for the dead level of their stuff these 200 years. Marshall⁵ told me they still preserve in their hereditary guilds every craft-trick used in building the Taj. But of course they could not make anything as good, though they cd. probably *copy* it exactly—which is more of course than the Byz. could do about S. Sophia. Here I suspect materials, especially mortar, come in. They either couldn't get the right kind of sand for vaults, or it was too much trouble, and so domes degenerate into pepper-pots—eventually no doubt people preferred them so—and spacious interiors were no longer an object. As regards mosaic, its main effect depends on brilliancy of colour. So long as there was gold, & the trade-secrets of glass-pastes were preserved, tracings would preserve

¹ To be destroyed, if any still remain intact, and to be "disinfected" by setting up the emblem of the worshipful Christian religion.

² Godefroy, v. Allard, *loc. cit.*

³ Sc. seventeenth century Protestants.

⁴ Turkish for Pope Leo.

⁵ Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology for India.

the designs well enough for the purpose—like those pricked designs for frescoes—and both in painting & mosaic a better man than usual might pick up things for a time ; but in mosaic drawing is all along secondary, the finer effects are impossible.

My wife has bought Miller's *Latins*¹ (remaindered to 4/6 : what a scandal !) and I see there a holed stone cult from Naxos (pl. 16) I ought to have got in². People passed their babies through a hole to make them fat, a certain "S. Fat" being responsible (Catholic source).³ I expect this is one of the usual puns, probably on S. Pachomios.⁴ Curious how nearly all these punning saints are used for children. But $\frac{3}{4}$ of popular saint-worship is by women, & to do with getting or keeping kids ; the other $\frac{1}{4}$ nearly all healing, especially fever & madness. This is an exaggeration, but not much.

Montana,

16th April, 1918.

I am now overflowed with books but the average quality is not high. A stout volume of Conder's (Pal. Expl. F.)⁵ called for reasons unknown "Syrian Stone Lore" & professing to be a history of Palestine from the monuments. Evidently one of the best & dearest of old men, but one of those people who put away tons of learned matter without really getting consecutive ideas on any subject. He notices cruciform fonts,⁶ which he seems to attribute to the Crusaders, but here, as everywhere, says too little to be of any use. He apparently draws on de Vogüé, *Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, and seems to think the quatrefoil type characteristic.

My fourth choice from Lausanne was the wrong volume of

¹ W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, London, 1908.

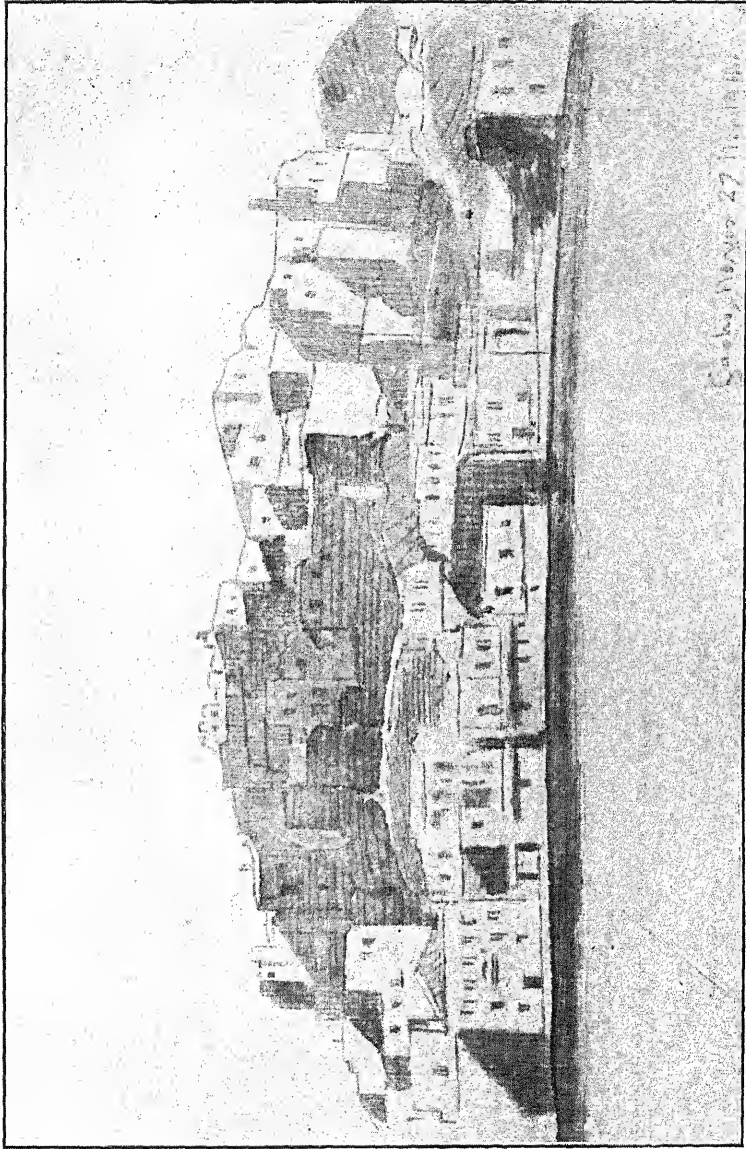
² In his "Stone Cults and Venerated Stones in the Græco-Turkish Area" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxi (1914-6).

³ Miller, pp. 581 f.

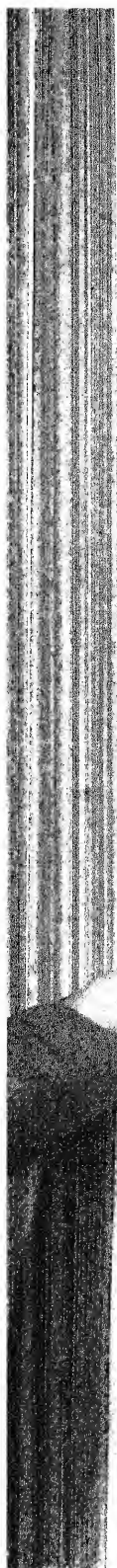
⁴ "Fat" = *Pachys*.

⁵ Published at London in 1896, as a separate publication, by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

⁶ See above, p. 79. n. 2.



THE BURG OF NAXOS



a very good archæologist unfortunately, dealing with Gaulish & Gallo-Roman things.¹ Apparently in his day (seventies) they were still finding octagonal Gaulish temples, but I imagine the approximate dating since this of the megalithic monuments must have affected this, like most Druidical questions. Chronology, whether in archæology or folklore, really comes to the same thing, the undatable is lumped together as "very ancient" and given the oldest name obtainable.

Montana,

25th April, 1918.

I have had from Montreux quite a nice book of Lanciani's, apparently lectures, called "Pagan & Xtian. Rome."² He goes so far as to say that *every* ancient building in Rome, *sacred or secular*, has been a church, if it was anyways possible. I gleaned also a couple of pseudo-temples, both rotundas, and some other notes.

I have since had a stout book (by mistake, in consequence of my not being up to their³ jargon) on the Papal claims.⁴ The family resemblance to such stories as that of Jelal-ed-din and the girding⁵ is remarkable. *Dedes* and *babas*⁶ are much the same in all countries, only some take them so very seriously.

I am rather dull without letters,⁷ though I seem to be getting a little better. The moon changes, & perhaps the weather, they say, to-morrow. This temperature⁸ I have all along

¹ Quicherat, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, Paris, 1885.

² London, 1892.

³ Roman Catholic.

⁴ No record of this book exists in F.W.H.'s notebooks.

⁵ In support of the claim of the Mevlevi dervishes to gird the Sultans of Turkey on their accession a legend is told to the effect that Ala-ed-din of Konia sent Jelal-ed-din, the Founder of the Mevlevi, to present Osman, the first Osmanli sultan, with a ceremonial sword: see further chapter xli of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁶ Turkish saints.

⁷ The Swiss frontier had been closed for some weeks for military reasons.

⁸ F.W.H. had been in bed since early February with a high temperature.

thought to have been an effect of weather, an opinion strengthened by the complete ineffectiveness of the many & various measures taken.

To-day I have another work of the ingenious Conder on Jerusalem.¹ He says,² *inter alia*, & it may well be true, that the stations of the Via Dolorosa are not mentioned till after the loss of Jerusalem by the Franks, & were probably vamped up gradually by the Franciscans to make up for holy places lost to Western Christendom by the Moslem conquest. In this connection, Lanciani says³ there was a Via Dolorosa in mediæval Rome, starting in the Forum Boarium & ending at Mte. Testaccio (Calvary). Of this he says the name "Casa di Pilato," given to the mediæval house near the Ghetto (*alias* house of Rienzi), is a reminiscence. Very curious and interesting, as are many things in the book.

Montana,

26th April, 1918.

I always bless Hill for his article on Michael and Apollo,⁴ as I am always finding something new in it and getting it a little further. It is a subject that interests me very much. A nice little point came in yesterday. In the illuminations of the penitential psalms Hill notices⁵ a variation in the angel's weapon—sometimes God or an angel with darts, sometimes S. Michael with a sword. In Ps. 38, in which the figure used is of plague throughout, David himself, being smitten, says "Thine arrows stick fast in me," and I suppose this was connected with the episode of David's choice in II Sam. (to which Hill refers) *and* I Chron. xxi (to which he doesn't). In the latter the vision of the Angel is much more explicit & the weapon a sword. More than this, at the end of the

¹ *City of Jerusalem*, London, 1909.

² P. 22.

³ *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 181.

⁴ See above, p. 43.

⁵ P. 151 of his article.

three days' plague God commanded the angel to sheathe the sword, & this is exactly what S. Gregory saw S. Michael do *on the third day* of his procession & litany during the plague of 590¹ (the incident is not reported till later than G.'s pontificate, but he says that during the plague *men saw arrows coming from Heaven*), whence the dedication of Castel S. Angelo.

My general idea of Michael is (negatively) that he has no connection with Apollo whatsoever. Hill himself can only find² one case of Apollo-Michael stratification—Pythia Therma, to which I shall return. Positively, he is first of all ἄγγελος and departmentalized among the archangels on account of Rev. xii. 7³ as particularly Ἀρχιστρατηγός, entrusted with military missions, and so corresponding exactly on the white side to Satan. His connection with springs (archetype Chonæ,⁴ perhaps throwing back on Bethesda) I regard as secondary. Why he was at Chonæ was that there was a great cleft there, afterwards attributed to his direct agency, but originally, I have no doubt, a *mouth of hell* (hell-mouths are always either chasms, caves, or nasty-looking lakes with vapours; fairy-land has similar mouths: you have to *get under* to reach either). A hell-mouth is potentially a place where devils come up, unless looked after: also a place you shove them down, if possible. Consequently, you put Michael in such positions, & they tend locally no doubt to be regarded as *the* hell-mouth, where the original combat took place. When Michael gets established at Chonæ, he becomes, as any saint may, a healer, but from his own words in the Chonæ legend⁵ it is perfectly plain that this healing is looked upon as a form of devil-dompting and Michael in his modern instances specializes in madness (= devil possession), as is seen particularly at Tepedjik and Syki, where there are cells for raving patients.⁶ I know

¹ Hill, p. 152.

² P. 146.

³ "Michael and his angels fought against the dragon."

⁴ See above, p. 62, n. 2.

⁵ "Ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ συντριβήσεται πᾶσα νόσος καὶ πᾶσα μαλακία καὶ φαρμακεία καὶ πᾶσα ἐνέργεια τοῦ πονηροῦ. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ πεπεδημένοι λυθῇσονται καὶ οἱ ἐχλούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἰαθήσονται" (Bonnet, *De Miraculo a Archangelo Michaelē patrato*, p. 18).

⁶ Full references may be found in chapter iii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

of this nowhere else. The parallel with S. George is very close: he is also, as dragon-slayer, an antidote to demoniac possession & specializes in madness at Prinkipo, Alexandria, Chios, and elsewhere.¹ Of course, I do not leave out of sight that *any* illness or bewitched condition may be put down to devils' action, and that hysterical cases make the reputation of most healing places.

What I have still to find out is the origin of Michael's apparent connection with the *sea* (Bosphorus and Symi): is this merely, as so often, an accident of position (as ultimately S. Nicolas²: cf. S. Valéry,³ who has nothing to do with the sea but as patron looks after the needs of his seafaring parish)? Or is it again a form of devil-fighting, storms being certainly attributed to demons⁴ down to quite a late date?

A thing to keep one's eye on (and beware of pressing) is the *general* appropriateness of M.'s replacing *any* pagan god, such being notoriously devils⁵ in disguise. The head devil-dompter is obviously the best of disinfectants for a devil-haunted site. So in the one apparently certain case of M.'s succeeding Apollo, Pythia Therma, one cannot be sure whether it is the healing-spring idea (archetype Chonæ) which influenced his selection, or merely his quite general qualifications for supplanting any pagan.

In the W. it seems to me quite clear that his partiality for hill tops comes ultimately from Gargano,⁶ the cave being again a hell-mouth (you descend to it a long way).⁷ It is a very common hill dedication in S. Italy & up to the latitude of Rome, rarer N. S. Michael's Mt.,⁸ if we could get at it, I feel sure derives from this—S. Autbert⁹ sent to Gargano for some anticas to start housekeeping with at once—& in its turn becomes a powerful local focus for Normandy & Brittany. But I don't know a single S. Michael hill in the E.—all Elias,

¹ *Idem.*

² See above, p. 46.

³ 1st April.

⁴ See chapter xxii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, *ad init.*

⁵ Cf. above, p. 28.

⁶ For S. Michael's shrine on Monte Gargano see Mr. Hill's article, pp. 140-3.

⁷ So. to S. Michael.

⁸ For Mont S. Michel see Mr. Hill's article, pp. 143-4.

⁹ Who founded the church after a dream.

Analipsis,¹ Metamorphosis,² & a few S. George. A minor focus seems to be Le Puy, where there is a sort of Meteora³ (pl. 17) with a rum church of St. M. on it; I should not be surprised to find it was consciously reminiscent of the Gargano cave. All Michael's plague energies in the W. to my mind throw back to Rome & Gregory's miracle, which I refer to the Penitential Psalms and I Chron., as I have said. I wonder if I Chron. xxi was read that time of year as lesson?

Montana,

30th April, 1918.

What do you think of this? I gather from Conder that before the Crusaders' reconstruction the Holy Sepulchre was enclosed in a little round building without antechamber, roofed with marble slabs & described as a "tugurium"⁴ (conical roof?). At Aquileia cathedral they have a small round chapel in the N. aisle, consisting of a high basement course & an open colonnade of 16 columns supporting a polygonal-conical roof. Baedeker says⁵ this dates 1031 and another bloke⁶ that it is called "le Sépulcre," & they say it was used for exposing the Host during the last days of Lent. It looks like a copy of the pre-crusading sepulchre used for a ceremony like that of the Entombment in Greece.

I have had Miss Durham's "High Albania" from Montreux. There is not a dull page in it. I have also Sébillot's truly magnificent *Folklore de France*, an excellent substitute for a folklore library and very interesting to me, as all the leading ideas are the same as what I have been doing.

¹ Ascension.

² Transfiguration.

³ i.e., perched on a rock like the Meteora monasteries of Thessaly.

⁴ *City of Jerusalem*, p. 229.

⁵ *Northern Italy* (1899), p. 311.

⁶ E. A. Martel, in *Tour du Monde*, 1900, p. 584.

Montana,

5th May, 1918.

*Martin of Tours*¹ is a very interesting life. He is said to have been a very intransigent idol-biffer, so I must get hold of it. There is a *Life* by Lecoy de la Marche,² who is a historian of sorts: as well as a contemp., or very early, one.

I was delivered of a pleasant wheeze yesterday. When you ask people why a cockle or scallop was a pilgrim's badge, they tell you it was the emblem of S. James of Compostella & leave you there. *But* the obvious emblem of St. J. is surely a *star* (they interpreted *campus stellæ*), because a star guided the discovery *vel sim.*: further Santiago is not on the sea even. I suspected first that fossil shells might be found there & attributed to a miracle of St. J.

Then I thought of Mt. S. Michel, which was a pilgrimage before St. J. and in a position where shell fish are common enough & shells would be an appropriate souvenir. I think there is probably something in this, as the collar of the Order of St. M. (1469) is formed of cockles or scallops.

Now I find in a recent description of the Breton pilgrimage of S. Jean du Doigt³ (inland & no special marine significance) that beggars, who go there in crowds for the pilgrimage "hold out *shells* or wooden dishes for alms." As their patrons often take change from these receptacles, a scallop is about the only shell that would do. So the scallop was the emblem of the mendicant pilgrim, just as the *keskhioul* is the sign of a mendicant dervish or the *bésace* of a friar, the latter having bigger receptacles for offerings in kind. I believe to beg your way on a pilgrimage was considered (humiliating & therefore) meritorious. By the way, I have seen a photograph of a Spanish pilgrim (recent) with shells embroidered (?) on his cloak.

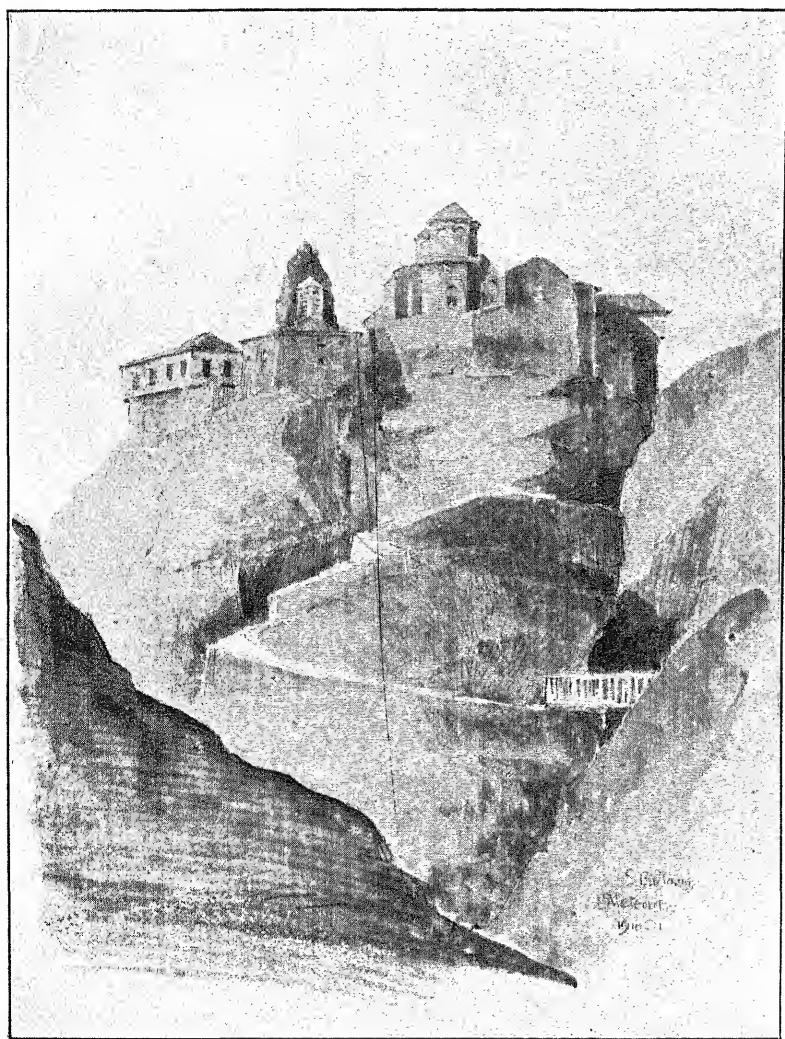
A propos of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, I found in old man Conder⁴ that after the loss of Jerus. and consequent occupation of certain sites by the Moslems, the associations of lost sites were officially transferred to other places by Popes—at first

¹ *Acta SS.* 1st September.

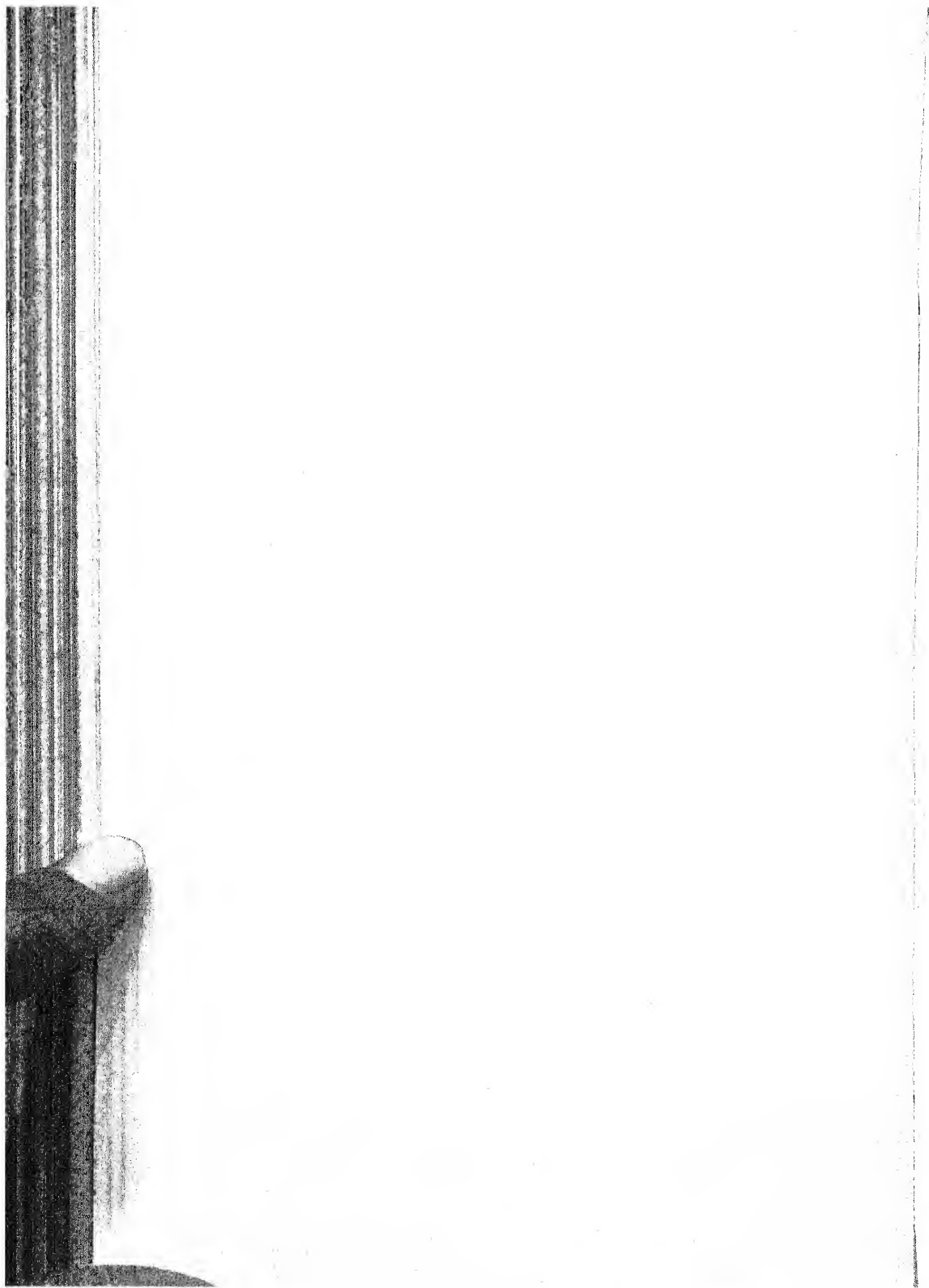
² *Tours*, 1881.

³ De Quetteville, *Pardon of Guingamp*, p. 365.

⁴ *City of Jerusalem*, pp. 14-5.



S. BARLAAM, METEORA



sight a deliberate fudging, wh. makes Conder very glum. The real reason is, I think, that, though the vulgar certainly took everything literally, the real purpose of these "stations" was that of memorials, places where people could contemplate the mysteries of the Passion, etc., and get *indulgences*; the actual place did not matter any more than that of the stations of the Cross in any Catholic church.

I have just got a number of an Albanian propaganda paper¹ published at Lausanne. One paper² in it interests me in a rather irritating way as saying too little (and burbling too much) on the traditions of Mt. Tomor. There appears to be an apple tree talisman on the summit, wh. bears golden apples. When this dies, it is all up with Albania, etc. This seems to be a variant of the magic gold tree I found in the Lebanon.³ Neither can be approached by man & both are on mountain tops. But what relation has a κόκκινη μηλιά⁴ to a χρυσή μηλιά?

Montana,

9th May, 1918.

I begin a letter because I have just finished a rather original & jolly book. My honble. health is all right, though the weather has gone to the bad again. I speculated in my Montreux library list on Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*, rather wondering what the said church⁵ might be. It was a misprint in the catalogue for *Greco-Russian* & turns out a very good spec. It is written 1869 by an English-woman, married to a Russian & resident in the provinces. Owing to the influence of her time doubtless, she is interested in the Orthodox from the Unity point of view. I suppose she

¹ *L'Albanie*.

² "Le Bienheureux du Tomorre," in *L'Albanie*, 25th April, 1918.

³ See above, p. 70.

⁴ See above, p. 24.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 80.

was "high," as she takes quite a historical interest in papadological¹ millinery & ritual. Many of the words used are mutilated Greek: a fine example is what she calls (probably transcribing correctly from the Russian) a *naloy*, which is clearly *αναλόγιον*,² etc., etc. It is quite clear from her book, which goes pretty deeply into details of the chief services and *popular ideas in connection with them*, that survival-hunters in Greece have to take the Russians into account. Much that in Greece has become sloppy and degraded to such an extent that no ordinary person has the least idea what he is "mystically prefiguring," has been kept in Russia more or less clear.³ It is very much, in fact, like the organization of the R.C.'s applied to the Greek ritual. Of course her picture of it all is very rosy & does not represent the peasants' point of view but that of the well-to-do bourgeois or small noble 50 yrs. ago. But evidently these people are, or were, more interested than their equals in Greece about religion, & better instructed by the priesthood: preparation for first communion, e.g., is quite a serious matter, you never hear of it in Greece.⁴ Seminaries seem more or less as in Cath. countries & are the ordinary training ground of priests, who are quite a caste apart, intermarrying a lot. A candidate preferably marries a priest's daughter, & this gives him a pull. I daresay much has changed in 50 yrs., but then it was evidently a better show than Gk.

I got a few truffles as well. They have still the funeral feast, wh. poor people hold on the grave itself, as the Turks did 300 years ago,⁵ the rich in great state at their houses. A lot of almsgiving takes place, the recipients, often beggars by profession, being supposed of course to pray for deceased. At the same time they have *collyva*⁶ going, but use rice & honey

¹ *Priestly.*

² *Reading-desk.*

³ e.g., if a deceased Russian had received extreme unction, the lamp or wineglass used for the oil and wine are thrown into the grave (Romanoff, p. 237). With this compare the much discussed Greek "survival" of breaking pots at the grave.

⁴ Cf. below, p. 129.

⁵ See chapter xvii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁶ The boiled wheat sprinkled with sugar, which modern Greeks eat at funerals.

instead of wheat & sugar. But a bish. says wheat is more ancient & throws back on John xii, 24.

There are some very nice things in their Church Law, I wish she had given more. Magicians, i.e., enchanters & foretellers, *wax & lead-melters*, are excommunicated 20 yrs. People who are attended by a Jewish doctor are excommunicated; if priests, sacked also. Priests who hunt or catch birds are unfrocked for 3 mths. People who through carelessness let a child die unbaptized are excommunicated 3 years, must do 200 *μετάνοιες*¹ every day and fast Mon. Wed. Fri. I suppose the Greeks have all this somewhere.

A fine piece of mythopoiea. The emp. Henry II² has two nicknames, the Saint & the Lane. He went a pilgrimage to Gargano & was touched by the Archangel on the hip. His lameness *was due to this*, they say, not cured by it. The story is quite evidently modelled on Jacob's wrestling with the Angel, *Gen. xxxii*. I wonder if he *really* went there for cure and failed?

I have got Comparetti's *Virgil*,³ and it seems clear enough that the whole Naples magician cycle⁴ grew up while they were in contact with the Arabs & Arab culture of Sicily—as I expected. At Palermo the Arabs had Aristotle's bones hung up in a mosque.⁵ I note by way of a *combinazione* that there is a cave at Palermo, where they find fossil bones, & that such are often used as talismans, called "giants' bones," etc.⁶ Is Virgil's development at Naples a set-off to Aristotle at Palermo? They had *his* bones of course in the Castello dell' Uovo.

¹ *Genuflexions, penances.*

² 15th July.

³ *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*, Firenze, 1896.

⁴ First mentioned by John of Salisbury (1159) in his *Polycraticus*, i, 4, by Conrad of Querfurt (1194), by Gervase of Tilbury (1212) in his *Otia Imperialia*, and by Alex. Neckam (1217). These references are from vol. ii of Comparetti's *Virgilio*.

⁵ J. A. Symonds, *Sketches in Italy and Greece* (London, 1874), p. 163.

⁶ For further details see chapter xv of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

Montana,

13th May, 1918.

I am speculating, wildly enough, because I have not the necessary books, on the Olympian v. Pelasgian theory,¹ and find some interesting general lines to follow up later. If there is a fixed point, it will be the date 1179, when the Papacy acquired the sole right to canonize saints.² I think this will be found to give a rough starting-point for a big centralizing movement in the way of saints, & especially that the *pre-dominance* of the Virgin in France & England dates from about then. Rome (& with it probably a good part of Italy) adopted the cult practically immediately after the Council of Ephesus,³ and subscribed by the building of the mother church of the W., S. Maria Maggiore.⁴ As far as I know, the Romanesque sculptors laid most stress on the Day of Judgment, certainly exalted Christ, not the Virgin, who begins to take her place in Gothic times (ND. de Paris, etc.). I believe it is really about this time that they begin to find (ὁ τοῦ θαύματος) miraculous Virgins,⁵ mostly black, which begin to compete successfully with the (Pelasgian) hermit-missionaries' relics. Spiritually, it is merely exchanging one form of fetishism for another: politically, it is only an outward uniformity, since the various Virgins inevitably become separate personalities and real idols in popular thought. The Romanesque tradition is that of the old missionaries, who preached the Cross and the Saviour, probably with a plain cross or at most a very rough crucifix for "imagerie." So you get at Einsiedeln⁶ (which I more & more think typical) (1) S. Meinrad, hermit, his bones, (2) enclosed in a church dedicated to the Saviour in the 10th century. In the 13th the seal of the monastery is a Virgin & child. It is now an ancient seat of the cult of the Virgin, S. Meinrad is quite secondary, and (this is interesting) the black Virgin is supposed

¹ Cf. above, pp. 35-7.

² *Croyances et Légendes du Moyen Age*, p. 341, n. 2.

³ 431 A.D.

⁴ See Baedeker, *Central Italy* (1909), pp. 206-7, for details.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 36.

⁶ Cf. above, p. 56.

to be S. Meinrad's. It is not the same as the one on the seal, probably xiv or xv. The padre author¹ *refuses* to date it (he is a good archæologist, O.S.B.) & tells people it is of unknown date & not to believe *anything* they hear. Now look at Rocamadour.² There is first a crypt of S. Rocamadour hermit, probably with his bones: over it ch. of S. *Sauveur*, early Gothic. Higher up is a church of the *Virgin* of xv. c. containing a Black Virgin *carved* by S. *Amadour*. Montserrat³: the curious site was originally frequented by hermits, who thought the rocks were riven at the death of *Christ*. The attraction is now a black *Virgin*: probably the same *processus*.

I must next get hold of a good book (there is one by U. Chevalier) on *Loretto*,⁴ which I dimly feel to have the key of many things in it; no such influential cult that I see has sprung up since, till Lourdes.

Montana,

14th May, 1918.

Do you know of any Panagias said to have been found in trees or bushes? I know only Π. Μυρτιδιώτισσα, found in a myrtle-bush about 1640 in Cythera,⁵ & Π. Κάπου Δάγ at Cyzicus, who is periodically, I am informed, lost & found in a bush when funds are low.⁶ I should be glad to hear of any others, should you know of such. In the W. it is a very frequent *motif* for the miraculous discovery. But I do not know of images or pictures of other saints found in this way. The reason is, I suppose, that the Burning Bush in some obscure way "mystically pre-figures" the Virgin, and I have seen a picture in the Cathedral at Candia representing her in the bush.⁷

¹ Of the guidebook to Einsiedeln.

² Cf. above, p. 56.

³ J. Dieulafoy, *Aragon et Valence*, p. 34.

⁴ C. U. J. Chevalier, *Lorette*, Paris, 1906.

⁵ See her *Ἀκολουθία* (Athens, 1909).

⁶ F.W.H. heard this in the district of Cyzicus.

⁷ Cf. Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 94, and ref.

In France it may be a bush (generally thorn), or a tree¹ (generally not specified). I note that in France the Tree of Jesse is a fairly common subject, the Virgin occupying the place of honour. It is clear that the precedents offer a good foothold for the idea that a local ND. was found in this way, Burning Bushes & Trees of Jesse could be explained as representing the miraculous discovery. It also offers an admirable opportunity for *fraus pia*. An adroit placing of an image in a tree struck by lightning, for instance, and you have conclusive proof that it fell from heaven in the traditional way. Images may also have been placed in superstitious trees as disinfectants, just as they are above springs, or crucifixes on megaliths²: this would, incidentally, make them good anticas in no time with the weather and all.

Altogether quite a nice little subject, as there are lots of yarns in Sébillot. Neither he nor Maury (who is very keen on eikonography) note the two precedents above, which I think important. What I should like to do, would be to get a photograph of every black ND. there is & see how they square with one another. I suspect some fine work by the R.P.s,³ here and there at least, and shall not be surprised to hear the B.V. at Loretto really comes into the bush category, or that the hermit-Virgin development is at the back of that, having been obscured later. The influence of Loretto on Einsiedeln is manifest. They have kept S. Meinrad's cell standing in the middle of the modern church, and the cell is covered with a marble casing, reliefs, etc., as at Loretto. Much of what I want to know will be easy to find out, once I can get at books. There are truckloads of literature on the cult of N.D.

I have the germ of an idea also that, before the N.D. cults were so successfully implanted on a basis of image worship, the Benedictine missionaries carried SS. Peter (& Paul?) & Michael, good Olympians both, into Pelasgian districts. S. Michael did very well both in the radius of the Norman (Benedictine) monastery and in S. Germany, sporadically

¹ Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, iv, 120, 121, 134, etc.: Maury, *Croyances et Légendes du Moyen Age*, p. 299, n. 3: Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire des Reliques*, s.v. *Notre Dame*, *passim*.

² See A. Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³ Révérends Pères.

elsewhere. S. Peter never took strong hold on people's affections, though you would have thought he could have been popular in fishing districts—I know of one place in Brittany, where he looks after sardines.¹ I hazard the guess that he was too obviously the Pope's man & too much associated with his pence for one thing, and (perhaps for another) he was put away before any one outside Rome could have a go at his relics. In the xiii c. the Dominicans, also Pope's men of their time, were keen Mariolaters & probably added much to the growing popular vogue of the B.V. : but probably more still later, when they had become less friar & more churchman & held ch. jobs.

A book I have by Lucius² is very good about the early importance of the Virgin in Syria, where she is officially connected with crops.³ The Assumption date, August 15th, appears first in Syria and as *Obitus Deiparæ pro Vitibus*. Other B.V. festivals are “de Seminibus,” “ad spicas,” & this in official calendars. Like a sensible man he does not say B.V. = Ceres but that she took over a certain class of universal need. “Le culte de Marie ne s'est pas édifié sur un culte particulier ; c'est l'esprit de l'antiquité (I should say of humanity in the mass rather) pénétrant dans le Xtianisme qui a élevé Marie au rang qu'elle occupe.” He is a professor, needless to say : an R.C. would *not* think it edifying to refer to a Syrian bishop who, eulogizing an askete, says he was a very good man, chaste in body & mind, *though* in his youth he had frequented many martyrs' festivals⁴ (!!!)

Montana,

17th May, 1918.

I have been nosing about Comparetti's “Virgilio nel Medio Evo” and have some notions on the subject which, if valueless, may amuse you. As you know, the book, a jolly good one, is

¹ Sébillot, ii, 238.

² E. Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der Christlichen Kirche*, Tübingen, 1904. F.W.H. used the French translation (Paris, 1904).

³ App. v, p. 701, in the French edition (p. 521 in the German).

⁴ For the disorders which attended many martyrs' festivals see Lucius, pp. 432-8 in the French edition (319-323 in the German).

divided into Part I, Virgil's rôle in Education and as a Prophet of the Gentiles, and Part II, Virgil in folklore & popular literature in the rôle of magician. He is very keen to show that the magician idea (A) was popular & (B) started in Naples, where (c) the Virgil tradition was continuous & more or less historical. (A) seems to me certain, (B) probable, (c) improbable on the evidence he gives, though, if it were true of any one, Virgil has all the chances, and that is precisely the interest of the question for me. Making all allowances for the difficulty of finding folklore of a certain date written down, it is still curious that (1) the whole of the *magician* cycle connecting Virgil with Naples is first known to us from authors of the late xii century, & that (2) nearly all the incidents shew a strong Oriental colour, easily explicable at this date owing to the influence of the Sicilian Arabs working through the Normans, who took Naples 1139.¹ Aristotle's relics were shown at Palermo² before Virgil's were at Naples, & V.'s Vesuvius talisman³ has an earlier version in Sicily à propos of Etna.⁴

The earliest trace of Virgil-magician dates from 1159, the "Polycraticus" of John of Salisbury.⁵ He tells a moral anecdote about Virgil and Marcellus. M. was all for killing birds; V. said, "Shall I make a bird that will kill all the birds, or a fly that shall kill all the flies?" Marcellus, having talked it over with Augustus, chose the fly (the moral being that the good of the many is preferable to one's individual pleasure), which liberated Naples from the plague of flies.

All the later accounts of V.'s miraculous activities include the fly, though they are not keen (naturally) on the moral. Is the fly the starting-point of the magician cycle? If so, one would be inclined to connect it (Comparetti says nothing and quotes no one, so it may be the idea is new: one would think C. would have to notice it else) with the *Culex* of Virgil, and it would be interesting to know whether it was, or any of

¹ See above, p. 91.

² See above, p. 91.

³ A bronze statue with bent bow: see Comparetti, ii, 26. The first mention of it occurs in Conrad of Querfurt (1194).

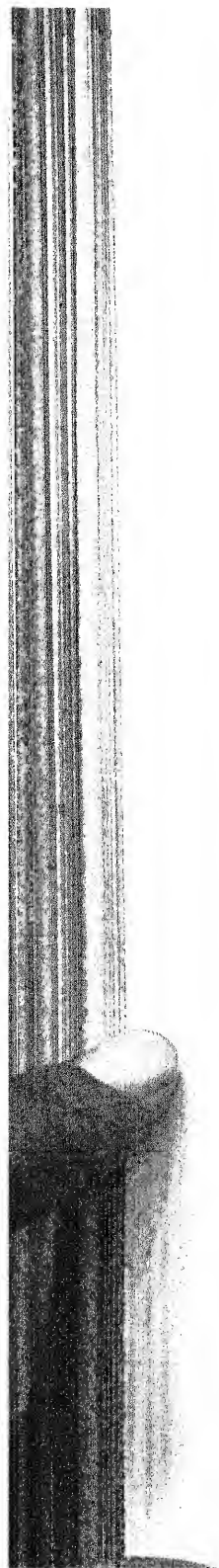
⁴ Mentioned in the fifth century by Olympiodorus, see Comparetti, ii, 39.

⁵ Comparetti, ii, 36.



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the innumerable commentators said it was, in any way connected with Marcellus.¹ "Culicem in gratiam Marcelli finxit," e.g., wd. start the idea easily, and it wd. fall into the talisman story already existing elsewhere. Anything remotely fly-like in Naples wd. then do—just as the people find a *hare* at the Pt. du Gard to justify a folktale.² It³ is really an "emblem of fecundity." (Is the market where meat never went bad a "second state" of the fly story, "macello" for "marcello"?) Anyway, I think the *Culex* wheeze⁴ might be worth following up.

The succeeding miracles of Virgil, flourishing before the end of the century, are of good Oriental magic type & need no special explanation beyond progressive lying. The "grave of Virgil" is said to have been discovered in King Roger's time⁵ and the bones were shown later in the Castello dell' Uovo. The latter did not take this name till c. xiv,⁶ the first record of *Castellum Ovi incantati* being 1352: the inscription mentioning it is of the same date (xiv c.), no longer existing but known from a copy, wh. I give, as it is pleasant to emend, when you cannot sleep:—

OVO MIRA NOVO SIC OVO NON TUBER OVO

DORICA CASTRA CLUENS TUTOR TEMERARE TIMETO.

This has never been successfully tackled, the truffle & the three eggs in the first line are pretty desperate. The author was probably learned & *tried* to be obscure & magical. But I think one must also make allowances for an inscription probably in Gothic letters, abbreviated, & high up, possibly weathered also. You may have ideas on it.

My idea is that the *egg* was originally a suspended ostrich egg or even an egg-shaped boss: both are used against the evil eye in gateways. Possibly the over-learned author referred

¹ The frequency with which a fly figures in stories of magicians was thought beside this particular point by F.W.H., see below, p. 130.

² Popular tradition points out a phallic charm at the Pont du Gard as the hare that cheated the Devil by being the first to cross the bridge he had built on condition of claiming the first soul that passed over (Millin, *Voyage dans les Departemens du Midi*, iv, 209).

³ Sc. the hare.

⁴ See below, p. 130.

⁵ Comparetti, ii, 45-6.

⁶ Comparetti, ii, 40.

obscurely to Virgil as responsible, *ad maiorem gloriam*, under the name of INSUBER, the Insubres being a Gaulish tribe *not far off* Mantua & having been defeated by a Marcellus (date of course not right for V.'s Marcellus, but who cared?). You couldn't have anything more obscure & (1) it eliminated the impossible TUBER, & (2), read INSUPER, gives colour to the later theory that the castle was *balanced on an egg*.¹ I fear myself this is too wheezeful to be true, maybe it was really *insuper*. You can plausibly eliminate the second ovo, if you can think of a likely word with quo in it (SEQUOR, SI QUO, AEQUOR). Novo must stand for the jingle's sake, I think. The whole thing is so silly I thought it must read backwards or be a chronogram. You can screw a xiv date 1338 out of it by ignoring the D. in "Dorica." But it is even worse backwards than forwards. I hope this amuses you. Send elucidations & lucubrations, if any occur to you.

Montana,

18th May, 1918.

I hope I wasn't wild about the chivalric idea in Persia,² but there is always to be considered the fact that the ancient world survived very long there, & that old ideas & national ideas were strong enough to modify even Islam quite considerably.³ What is so wearisome to us in the Turkish folkstories (which are again to me Persian certainly, if not in origin, in characteristics) is that the hero does everything by tricks & luck. He *always* has the right talisman up his sleeve, & you can bet your boots it is going to work the third time at latest. Essentially it is more "popular" than the Chanson de Geste. The hero is often a prince but equally often a lucky (not generally skilful or clever) nobody who becomes king or

¹ Comparetti, ii, 40.

² Above, p. 69.

³ Cf. the Persian persistence in drawing and painting human figures.

what not. The *Chanson de Geste* is about people who were somebody, who were born somebody, & win, because they are better trained & have a better *moral* than their adversaries, after sundry hard knocks. If Roland has a magic sword to help him, it is hardly more than a *damned good sword* & the other fellow very likely has one, too. This is Roland, Zohrab, Achilles, the old aristocratic epic. The other is essentially democratic. Both were eagerly listened to, no doubt, by all classes. A man called Bédier¹ appears to have started an idea that the chief *chansons de geste* cycles are in definite relation to pilgrimage places. It would be nice to get the book and *make a map*.

In connection with Viza,² Skyros,³ etc., I note "for your information" that a synod at Auxerre 585 A.D. forbids people to "disguise themselves as cows and deer."⁴ I quite believe in Viza, etc., as a survival of what was really a religious & Bacchic do (not to say *dromenon*), though Viza being in Thrace is of course what people like & what has no significance whatsoever.

I notice Virgil's *buried* talismans at Naples are enclosed in bottles⁵ first, then in other cases. I do not know this notion on the E. side (unless you count the fisherman's djinn⁶), do you? If it is Western, it must evidently come from the way relics were preserved in case after case & finally in a glass or crystal casket, which allowed the faithful to *see* but not *touch*. Is S. Gennaro⁷ (*ἀγρυε*) this way? I rather think. This only for fun & speculation.

Why was Buddha in the deer-park? Did he have a stag familiar?

¹ Joseph Bédier, *Les Légendes Épiques*, Paris, 1908-13.

² Above, p. 57.

³ The allusion is to Mr. J. C. Lawson's article, "A Beast-Dance in Scyros," in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vi (1899-1900), pp. 125-7.

⁴ Beugnot, *Destruction du Paganisme*, ii, 326.

⁵ Comparetti, ii, 25.

⁶ In the "Arabian Nights."

⁷ See above, pp. 67-8.

Montana,

19th May, 1918.

Received yours of the 17.iv.18, very long, very interesting, & much read. I suppose *the* exception to your strictures on Greek indifference to outside things is Galanos the Sanskrit scholar—I don't know more about him than his name, & that he translated works important for comparative folklore about the Max Muller time. Somebody also translated Dante, but, to judge from the copies still on sale everywhere, it must have been a frost. The fault lies not only with the people but in their environment. I don't imagine you could seriously study any non-Greek historical or literary subject in Athens even. People fit for such studies *have* to make them outside, & practically have to keep outside to continue them, merely for want of *books*. If they are independent of an official job, which few are, they quite naturally develop their tastes where there are books *and* people in touch with their subject, & for the same reasons often prefer a big foreign language. Some very few can form their own libraries like Politis,¹ I suppose. But it must require great originality, in default of exceptional opportunities, for a young man brought up in a Greek school to have an idea that anything else exists.

Did I tell you an enterprising man called Monnier copied out phonetically the *paternoster* of a Sicilian sailor?² It did not mean *anything* to him, as he confessed, but he knew it was God's language & did the trick. When things get as far as that, you can't wonder other formulæ equally silly are considered to have effect on the (officially acknowledged) devil, a curious by-product of the universal v. vernacular language difficulty.

In one of your letters (22.i.18) you say that a well-established superstition shewn by its survival to answer a real want *must* go on, to supply that want in some form or another. This, I think, is the great merit of Protestantism: it has gone for superstition at the root & very largely succeeded in doing for it. The R.C.'s have compromised by a kind of baptising process, & by so doing have encouraged, not only orthodox, but *unorthodox* aberrations, & lowered the whole mental

¹ The well-known Greek folklorist who has lately died.

² Marc Monnier, *Contes Populaires en Italie* (Paris, 1880), pp. 209-10.

level of the masses.¹ If you are officially told you must believe that a man vowed to God can perform before your eyes literally an impossibility in the mass, you are perfectly logical in supposing that a man vowed to the devil can do similar miracles by equally unintelligible incantations. If *Hoc est corpus meum*, why not *abracadabra*, both having no obvious meaning? Church anathemas have proved incapable of stopping wizards practising (for money &, still more, prestige), far more of stopping the ordinary public, after failure (often) of authorized magic, from lightly compromising itself, getting off at worst with a stiff penance, by *consulting* such persons, if critical interests (a child's life, e.g.) are at stake.

You want, to root these things out, primarily an honest (incidentally, properly paid) clergy, and a clean sweep of stumbling blocks, not regarding logic but simply results. E.g., saint worship is exceedingly old in Christianity. If the authority of the early church counts, it must be kept. But it has to go, because it doesn't work. All along the line one feels our Reformation worked on these principles. The devil is perfectly biblical, but they have very nearly got to the end of *him*. Purgatory is quite logical but led to abuses, so is rejected. The Great Paradoxes after the period of the schisms are quite harmless, however silly, & are kept *except* Transubstantiation. That is the way to purge a religion, & we have done it. I quite admit it would be more difficult in S. Italy *now*. But they ought to have got their reformation at latest in the 12-13 c.

I have been reading the prayer-book lately & realise what exceedingly wise & moderate, as well as pious, old boys they were (I can't *quite* swallow Charles II's pious interest in the matter). If you go by what these men laid down, it seems to me no honest person can doubt what they *meant*, and "Anglo-Catholics" must either change the law of the Church or go to Rome in common honesty. On the other hand, people like Glazebrook are in the other end of the same box, but I don't know where their Rome is. I have not had occasion to think of such things before & am surprised I am such a Prot.

A few odd scraps that may amuse you; I have a lot of time

¹ The so-called "Chinese rites" exemplify the truth of this.

to think now, and things occur to one in the process : sometimes very old incidents turn up in new lights. E.g. when I was at Armoudlou¹ (Bithynia), my guide without stimulus pointed out to me a tree on the hillside. It was considered sacred, he said, to S. George, & they wanted to build a church, but the Turks would not let them. I said, *why* was a church wanted ? His idea seemed to be quite simply that it was a jolly place for a picnic. Probably there was a spring beside the tree, & there was no site with these social advantages (shade & water) near the village. They felt it would be a good place for their April outing, if suitably sanctified & all made pukka. This social view of religion simply doesn't occur to us & is, I think, interesting. Of course no such combination occurs in Protestantism. Here again the connection was considered dangerous probably. The Scots, I believe, till recently took almost no notice of Christmas even & had their blow-out on the non-religious New Year. (Anyway, it is a point to be reckoned with in foundations). And the disuse of fasting takes all point & chance of excesses from the original Easter beano.

Do you know anything about Lives of S. Benedict ? There is one by a Leo Ostiensis, which seems to be early, and it seems to be generally accepted (wh. of course means *nothing*) that the story of the foundation of Mte. Cassino is historical. According to this, there was a temple of Apollo on the site (not impossible in early vi c.) still in use. St. B. biffed this & replaced it by a ch. dedicated to S. Martin, as typical idol-biffer, and the altar by a church of S. John.² If this is authentic, it is very interesting. It looks like S. Martin for disinfection and S. John to replace a solstice festival, Apollo-Helios ? It is in fact almost *too* pretty. But, as I say, the whole story may be late, as is certainly that of the Benedictine foundation on Mte. Vergine replacing a temple of Cybele.³ This theme, I am convinced, became so fashionable, in Renaissance times, I guess, that any self-respecting church had to fudge up a pedigree on these lines.

¹ In 1914 : for the three saints there see chapter xxxvii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

² Quoted by Beugnot, *Destruction du Paganisme*, ii, 285 : also by Allard, *L'Art Païen*, p. 211.

³ See below, p. 121.

I have had Baedeker *S. Italy* lately for, *inter alia*, the round temple theory. It is not so convincing as *S. France*. All round buildings are thought temples roughly, but a considerable number of rectangular ones also seem to be considered in the same category. This, I think, comes from the fact that scientific or conscious archæological research begins here under the Bourbons, coinciding with, or dependent on, the first discoveries at Pompeii, about the time, therefore, of Le Roy,¹ Stuart & Revett,² which made it finally clear that Greek temples were largely rectangular, and in S. Italy you have Paestum (note, by the way, the so-called "basilica"—relic of the old tradition?) & in Sicily Girgenti, etc. But still two bashed rectangular temples at Metapontum are called "Chiesa di Sansone" and "Tavoli Paladini" respectively,³ throwing back to Bible & Chanson de Geste again. I want to get hold of a common early edition of Palladio's Roman monuments & see what he figures. It is probably an important source from which popular ideas derive ultimately, through architects & savants generally.

I had a very comforting confirmation of an idea the other day. Hill⁴ publishes among supposed Apollo-Michael monuments a leaf⁵ from an A.S.⁶ Herbarium of Apuleius Platonicus with a figure laid out like a bishop's effigy, representing, it has been said, Apollo giving the book to Apuleius, or (somehow) S. Michael. I have long had the idea, & noted it, but without suggesting it to Hill, as I had no evidence, that the subject was really the monkish writer *presenting* his book⁷ to the patron saint of his monastery, perhaps dead abbot. Unexpected confirmation in Comparetti, who cites⁸ several Virgil MSS. of same date even, in which writers *verbally* consecrate their book to their pious founders, evidently for use in monastery libraries. I am always pleased to find I am on

¹ J. D. Le Roy, *Ruines des Monuments de la Grèce*, Paris, 1770.

² Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, London, 1762.

³ Baedeker, *Southern Italy* (1903), p. 221.

⁴ See above, p. 43, n. 3.

⁵ Fig. 8 in Mr. Hill's article.

⁶ *Anglo-Saxon*.

⁷ Cf. above, pp. 43-4.

⁸ Comparetti, *Virgilio*, i, 128.

the right road in things I have no knowledge of & if the idea passed Hill, it is not so awfully well-known.

I have seen in a Spanish illus. paper a photograph of a bull-fighter jumping right over the bull. (Minoan papers please copy).¹

Montana,

23rd May, 1918.

I am most impatient to get at the Acta SS. for S. Eustace & the stag. I am beginning to think that the speaking crucifix² may be (a) the real clue. Some of these *edifying* yarns, like that of the 7 sleepers, are made or adapted from old stuff, to back up doctrine called in question. The Seven Sleepers, I believe, made their appearance just in time to confirm some decision on the Resurrection of the dead, & having had their flutter & served the Church's turn, found nothing better to do than go tamely back to bed.³ I *believe* this accounts for their being located in Ephesus, as I fancy the council⁴ in question was held there. Other kinds of miracles, e.g., discoveries of saints, have, I find, a trick of occurring at most appropriate times for the papades.⁵

As to S. Eustace's stag, I can only bring him into relation with the iconoclastic row.⁶ The W. church, as you know, was pro-image and legislated in that sense. This may account for S. Eustace, though Roman⁷ by location, being in the Greek menologia.

My Lucius book⁸ has been, apart from what stuff I poach from it, a most useful corrective. His idea (fully proved) is

¹ Cf. above, p. 77.

² 20th September: S. Eustace, it will be remembered, was converted, when out hunting, by the apparition of a stag, between whose horns was a crucifix that spoke to him. Some discussion of his legend will be found in chapter xxxvi of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

³ See above, p. 18, n. 4.

⁴ It disputed about the resurrection of the dead.

⁵ *Priests*.

⁶ See *Christianity and Islam*, loc. cit.

⁷ He was a Roman knight, known originally as Placidus.

⁸ See above, p. 95, n. 2.

that the worship of martyrs was flourishing before Constantine & was shamelessly exploited in the 4th and 5th centuries ; & that extremely few martyrs' yarns are at all authentic, every kind of falsification being by the 4th c. in full swing & eagerly looked for. My independent idea on reading Acta SS. was that, if Roman courts of justice were such bear-gardens as represented, it must have been a funnier empire even than our own.

Searching the scriptures is great fun, but I have no concordance. The other day I found in *Chronicles* Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah got up an expedition to Tarshish, fitting out at Ezion Geber (Akaba). Jehoshaphat ought not to have had anything to do with Ahaziah, so the Lord broke the ships & they could not go. To this allusion is made in Ps. xlviii—"With a strong wind brake he the ships of Tarshish" ("ships of the sea" in prayer-book, but in any case *translators* had above in mind). One of the apocryphal gospels makes use of this as a *prophecy* of Herod destroying the ships of the Tarsians, *who had helped the Wise Men to return*. The Middle Ages anyway thought Tarshish was Tarsus, till the Rhodian Knights put it at Halicarnassus,¹ *possibly* because, before it was called Castellum S. Petri, it was known as Le Darse (for wh. there is no evidence, but it was), a convenient little bay for repairing ships, and Tarsus, no longer a Christian Armenian town, was less known. The burning of the ships is sculptured at Amiens, so I read ; author² is puzzled.

"Jehoiachin was eight years old, when he began to reign, & he reigned three months & ten days : *and he did evil in the sight of the Lord,*"³ is another find of a different kind.

I have been better these days, change of weather, & expect to get up regularly next week : it has been dragging on longer than it need,⁴ me too comfble. in bed to protest.

¹ See p. 213 of F.W.H.'s "Datcha—Stadia—Halikarnassos" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xviii (1911-2).

² Maury, *Croyances et Légendes du Moyen Age*, p. 420.

³ II Chron. xxxvi, 9.

⁴ See above, p. 83, n. 8.

Montana,

29th May, 1918.

I am still more or less engaged on Lucius' saint worship & find almost daily things of interest. Yesterday I found a curious note which may interest you, though it is unfortunately undated—though apparently early, perhaps 5th c. S. Theodore of Euchaita (Pontus) appeared to a bishop of CP. & made use of some expressions the latter could not understand. To the bish.'s enquiries, S. Th. replied: *ἐγχαίρω τῶν Εὐχαϊτῶν διαλέκτῳ λέγειν εἰώθαμεν* (ref. is to Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxix, 1829; Lucius, *Origines du Culte des SS.* 184, n. 5).

I also found that tablets of earth from the place of the Ascension & the Sepulchre were used as charms by pilgrims quite early,¹ and many other things. It is a good book to get hold of, though he doesn't know as much about transferences as I do!

In Kunos' *Tales* I had marked a passage relating to the 40. The hero falls in love with a girl, and "the girl was of the Forty." She gives him a rendezvous in the "bath of the Forty,"² which looks as if the 40 were bath-peris: peris³ of course notoriously haunt baths. It is thus very curious that in the story of the 40 saints of Sebaste,⁴ which is very early (in some form or other), a bath is lugged in, really without rhyme or reason. One wonders if there is any connection, & if so, which way. There is a bath at Marsovan, where they burn candles to S. Barbara, & in her legend also a bath comes in.⁵ Prof. White says⁶ it is an ex-church, but I don't much believe it; there is not much difference, unless to the interested, between a 5-domed church & a five-domed bath (pl. 19), and the local Greeks wd. certainly say it was a church, just as they say anything with a dome is a copy of S. Sophia.

¹ P. 262 in the French edition of Lucius, p. 194 in the German.

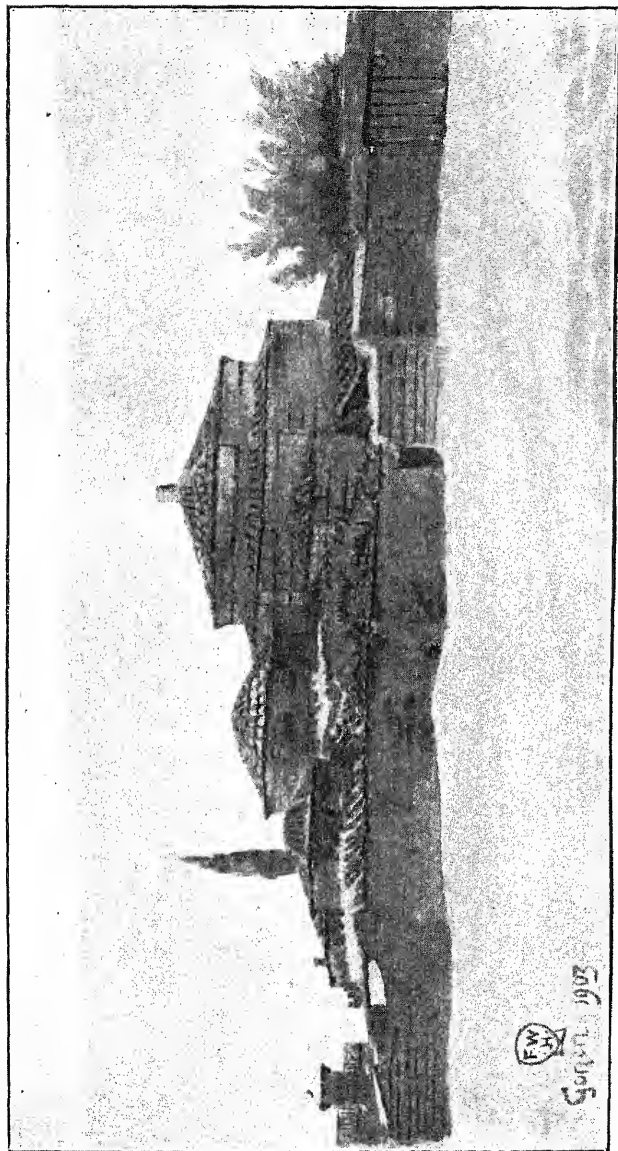
² Oszman Török Nepmesek (Budapest, 1887), p. 15.

³ *Beneficent spirits.*

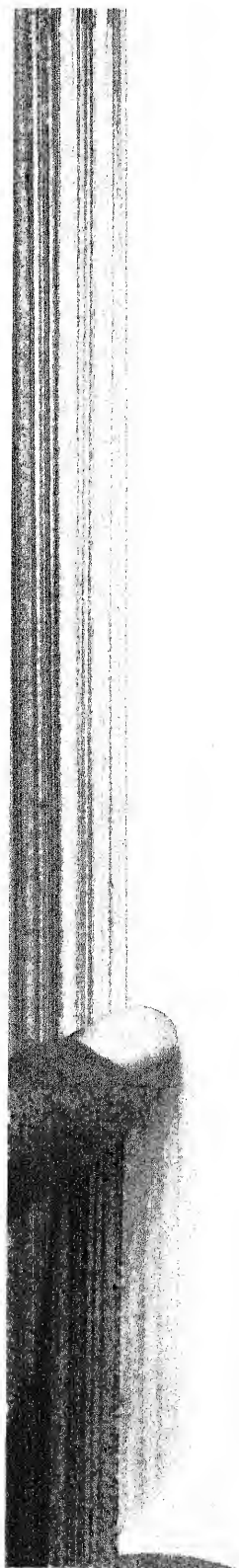
⁴ The modern Sivas. The saints are celebrated on the 9th March (*Synax. CP.*).

⁵ For full details see chapter iv of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam.*

⁶ In a letter to F.W.H.



A DOMED BATH AT GONEN, BITHYNIA



Montana,

7th June, 1918.

I know by experience now I have slack periods & bursts of energy. If one is in the land of libraries, one can use the slack periods for copying out & grouting of the duller sort; here I take it as it comes, think round and about various subjects, & having now a good headful, occasionally strike a suggestive idea.

I have lately a pamphlet by a pupil of Duchesne's¹ on saint-cult from the Catholic point of view, very historical & good. He turns the Prot. position by representing² it as a legitimate, & probably the only feasible, method of converting the pagan masses from their local cults. Also, which is interesting and valuable for me, says³ these cults declined from mid. xi c. on, in favour of that of the B.V. This coincides of course with a big papal boom,⁴ *perhaps* with a change of tactic to meet the change of feeling after the fatal year 1000, & comes pretty nearly at the join of Romanesque & Gothic. I believe the earliest "black Virgins" are about this date. Further, he gives⁵ more than a hint at the boom in S. Peter during Merovingian & post-Charlemagne times (temporary eclipse under Charlemagne hinted at, but does not touch my point). Corresponds to Papal-Benedictine boom of Gregory & successors. It is particularly significant that the abbey of Evesham⁶ was founded on the strength of an apparition of the *Virgin* (early viii c.), who ordered a monastery to be built. The bishop went to Rome to get the apparition verified, and the Pope ordered that the monastery should be dedicated to SS. *Peter & Paul* & run by Benedictines.

As to the year 1000⁷ the idea seems to have been over-exploited by Michelet⁸ against the Catholics, his idea being that

¹ A. Dufourcq, *La Christianisation des Foules* (Collection Science et Religion).

² Pp. 40 ff.

³ P. 59, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 92.

⁵ Pp. 56-8.

⁶ Pp. 56-7.

⁷ See e.g., F. Duval, *Les Terreurs de l'An Mille* (Collection Science et Religion).

⁸ *Histoire de France* (Paris, 1833-67), ii, 135 ff.: cf. Duval, pp. 23-4.

the church terrorized the laity into *vakoufs*,¹ etc., by this means. Solomon² seems to have accepted the Catholic defence. I myself think the truth is half way. Clergy & laity alike were apprehensive of the fatal year in various degrees; at the same time, when it didn't come off, it was the clericals who lost in prestige, just as every time the Pope used excommunication as a means of pressure & nothing particular happened, excommunication lost force as a threat to many people. This may be one reason why, in the transition represented by the change from Romanesque to Gothic, the Last Judgment (appeal to fear) gives place more & more to the Passion & the B.V. (appeal to pity & love), just as in many ways the "Jesuit" school of religious art is a still lower appeal to sentimentality, again to pick up lost ground & accommodate the spirit of the age.

Do you know anything about "Arbre Sec" & "Arbre Sol"? I have a stray reference to them I can't look up in Yule's "Marco Polo,"³ which looks like middle or far East. I found "arbre sec" used like κόκκινη μηλιά, in Huon de Bordeaux⁴ for the other end of nowhere. Arbre Sol beats me (Arbor Solis?⁵), & they are evidently not a pair, as they stand.

I am wondering whether the tree with gold apples on Tomor⁶ is a χρυσή μηλιά (cf. golden apples of Hesperides) (in the W.) corresponding to κόκκινη μηλιά⁷ (in the E.). A Greek here said it (κ.μ.) was commonly used of real trees, which bore red apples. All the same, I don't give up yet (at least as a tributary or offshoot).

Got leave yesterday to go to Sion for a few days if very *sage*. I hope for Acta SS. & to do Eustachius & his stag. *Re Eiconoclasts*, I note the traditional coming of the Lucca crucifix⁸ is dated to this period, as also one of S. Luke's works

¹ *Pious foundations.*

² S. Reinach.

³ Ed. H. Cordier, i, 127 ("the Arbre Sol, which we Christians call the Arbre Sec").

⁴ *Histoire du très-pieux noble Huon de Bordeaux* (Rouen, 1620 ?), f. 29 recto.

⁵ For confirmation of this guess see Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, 129-131.

⁶ See above, p. 89.

⁷ Above, p. 24, n. 6.

⁸ 782 A.D. (Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 1899, p. 396).

at Bari.¹ I daresay a lot of valuable eikons did come into Italy, especially S., that time. But why Lucca? I have only seen a photograph of it, but it seems a really fine thing; I can't place it at all.

Montana,

17th June, 1918.

I was at Sion all last week, enjoyed myself very much, & got a trifle of work done in spite of some difficulties. It is a very pleasant & picturesque old-fashioned town (pl. 20). The librarian² was as kind as possible, but there isn't much there for me: I mostly got titles and pressmarks from the Geneva catalogue (with a view to the future), and read up S. Eustace in Acta SS.

I have got some books from Montreux, Hare's *Florence*, a rather indifferent & late Gospel of the Childhood, and Conder's *Jerusalem*³ again to get the El-Aksa pillars story⁴ right. Apparently Willibald⁵ mentions a similar Xtian. superstition at the Ch. of the Ascension—persons who could squeeze between a certain pillar & the wall were freed from their sins. So the site of the superstition may perhaps have moved. All I see of these things goes to prove that the name & personality of a saint, *numen*, are the least stable element in tradition, locality next, while the form of the rite is the most permanent of all; the latter is *not* firmly attached to the object, purpose, of the ritual, which is dependent ultimately on the will of the suppliant. It is peculiarly interesting in Sébillot to remark that a whole corpus of ritual has grown up round *conscription*⁶ (with the object of getting a good num-

¹ 733 A.D. (Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 1903, p. 210).

² Of the cantonal library of the Valais.

³ Above, p. 82, n. 5.

⁴ This refers to an ordeal by passage in the El-Aksa mosque, which is fully discussed in F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, ch. xvii.

⁵ Eighth century: quoted by Conder, p. 232.

⁶ *Folk-Lore de France*, s.v., *conscripts*.

ber), all on the oldest & most primitive lines, though the object shows these particular applications to be modern.

I have a nice little book on the iconoclastic controversy¹ in the R.C. series "Science et Religion." I think the author, like all others, lays too much stress on the outward pressure on Byz. art pushing it to uniformity. There is always a pressure of this sort in religious art, but people who are any good break out of it. It has a considerable influence on cultus images & pictures, but hardly touches fresco, for instance, or votive works, and, though the Athos handbook² seems to lay down the rules very precisely, this is more apparent than real. Textbooks of this kind are pre-eminently for duffers not much above the house-painting level, and give the sort of directions that are important for them. To people with ideas, there is infinite scope for variety in pose & expression alone, and complete liberty almost is left them in subjects outside the regular cycle (donors, neo-saints, historical painting), if they have any originality. Greece, & still more Russia, has not in these last years been hampered by hieratic tradition, though it is foreign influence, not their own development, which has freed them.

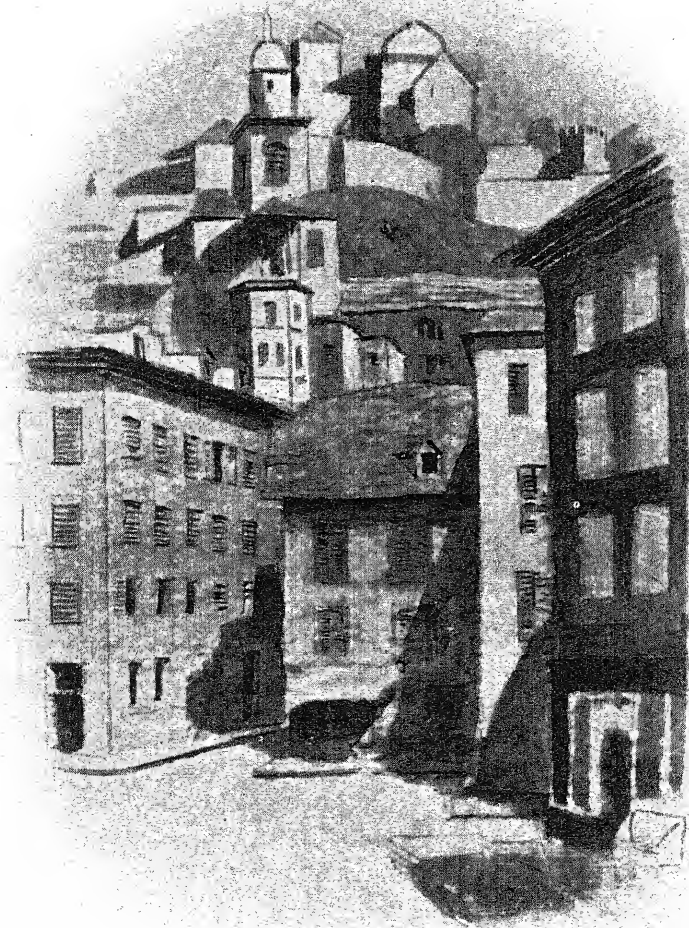
I have been thinking about domestic folklore: the key to the situation is the midwife. A woman knowing the languages (a woman of course is better for these things) & having introductions to 3 or 4 good old-fashioned midwives from the quarters³ in a place like Smyrna (perhaps also a thumbscrew, there must be trade-secrets), could pump it dry of domestic folklore & especially folk-medicine in a very short time. Genus *γρηδ*,⁴ species midwife, in fact runs over into match-maker (love-charms) and ultimately witch, white magic being necessary for child getting, child birth, & love spells, & black probably going with the darker forms of match-making. The line of distinction is probably vague; one tends to think of the professors of the dark branches as less prosperous or embittered members of the craft, but of course accident comes

¹ L. Brehier, *La Querelle des Images*.

² Published by Didron in his *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1845.

³ i.e., the Turkish, Greek, Armenian, etc.

⁴ *Old woman*.



A VIEW IN SION

Face p. 110

in a lot: probably extraordinary success also wd. lead to the assumption that the devil was in it, & the old girl would more or less live up to her reputation. I note as a curiosity that we mean a (white) witch by "wise woman," the French a midwife.

Montana,

18th June, 1918.

You remember in Hill's *Michael* the discussion¹ of the church at the entrance to the Bosphorus? I believe I have got on the right lines for a more satisfactory solution. My idea is that the place was a lighthouse and look-out place, called 'Εστιαίον in the first place because a fire was kept burning there, & never a pagan sanctuary properly speaking, only under the formal protection of Hestia. The name Sosthenion was given it from its donor or architect, if indeed the true form is not Σωσθινεῖον. The yarn in Malalas² about Constantine's vision is all based on the fact that there was a statue of a wind-god there (presented as on the Tower of Andronicus at Athens), perhaps crowning a column used for a daymark. Constantine, as elsewhere, converted this forcibly—a new head or something—into S. Michael, the vision being a corollary, as also perhaps the Argonautic past of the wind-god, though this might easily be vamped up any time on the Bosphorus. The yarn is all much later even than Constantine. This theory, observe, does for the "survival." I have written to Hill about this & in return asked him to send me something about *arbre sec*³ and *arbre sol* (the latter must be *μονοθένδρι*⁴ by the way) when he has time. I doubt he will never revise *Michael* though.

¹ On pp. 156-7 of Mr. Hill's article (above, p. 43, n. 3).

² P. 157 of Mr. Hill's article.

³ Above, p. 108.

⁴ This occurs in Greek folktales. For this reading of *Sol* see Yule's "Marco Polo," ed. H. Cordier, i, 129, 135, 138-9.

Do you know anything about FERT¹ & the house of Savoy ? The junior dr. here,² a Savoyard, says the letters were placed in the arms of the cross, which made me think of the Palæologi & 4 B's.³ At Sion I saw a Savoy coin with FERT in black letter minuscules. All the letters, if you think of it, could be fudged out of firesteels with a little care. Also, what had they to do with Rhodes ? Nothing I can find, but white cross on red was of course the Knights' arms. Am writing to Miller⁴ about this ; thousands of people must have discussed it, but probably few wanted to know the truth. Savoy & Palæologi of Montferrat were connected⁵ by the way, I expect you know.

Do you know Rolland, *Flore Populaire* (Paris, Librairie Rolland) ? It has local names of flowers from all parts, including Greek & even some Albanian.

I saw in Comparetti⁶ that at Naples a Scuola & a Scoglio of Virgil were shewn close to each other. This is evidently the ancestor of the " School of Homer " rock (supposed now a pre-historic rock-cut altar) in Genoese Chios, which I expect has much to do with the name *Δασκαλιδ* used in Greek waters for certain isolated rocks. Meliarakis⁷ got as far as *Δασκαλιδ* = da scoglio ; I, independently, I think, though certainly not before him, got to Scoglio = *σκολειδ* = *δασκαλειδ*. A factor is probably the existence in the xviii of the monastery-school on Patmos. I remember there is an islet called *Δασκαλειδ* near Monemvasia, where there are ruins of a monastery. The Genoese were in constant touch with Naples of course. From Virgil at Naples to Aristotle at Palermo is not far.

¹ See Murray's *Hand-Book for Asia Minor*, 1895, p. 370.

² At the sanatorium.

³ Cf. above, p. 23.

⁴ Dr. William Miller.

⁵ See above, p. 24, n. 2.

⁶ *Virgilio*, ii, 143, and n. 3.

⁷ *Γεωγραφία τοῦ Νόμου Κεφαλληνίας* (Athens, 1890), p. 213, n. 52 *ad fin.*

Montana,

21st June, 1918.

I have been reading a very interesting set of Bampton lectures (skipping the Bampton parts) by Canon (I think) Hutton on the English saints.¹ They are interesting to me more particularly, because he notes many cases of popular canonization, or attempted canonization, not ratified by the Pope. *Inter alia*, I find my royal founder² only escaped because Henry VII was too mean to pay his footing.

I have also long been after a pamphlet I saw in a Geneva catalogue by one E. Montet on Islamic saints in N. Africa.³ Tho' printed at G., the bookseller I wrote to could not find it. When I was at Sion, I found there a Prof. E. Montet at G. University, so wrote asking him where it was to be got, thinking he might have short copies. To-day the old boy brought it to me himself, as he knows Arabic & had some sort of mission to the interned Mus. troops⁴ here. This was most kind of him & particularly lucky for me, as the pamphlet is no longer to be had, being a 5-centenary publication of the Univ^y.

An interesting thing in it is the prestige of *renegade* marabouts. The saint of Mogador is Sidi Mogdoul (of which Mogador is a Portuguese distortion), his real name being MacDonald⁵ (? MacDougall) !!! I have a notion the saint at Osmandjik⁶ is a renegade Russian, & this is confirmation of my still very hazardous theory.

¹ W. H. Hutton, *The Influence of Christianity illustrated by the Lives of the English Saints*, London, 1903.

² F.W.H. was Scholar and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

³ *Culte des Saints Musulmans dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Geneva, 1909.

⁴ In 1918 prisoners of war in Germany, when found to be tubercular, were sent to Switzerland for treatment.

⁵ Montet, p. 15.

⁶ Pambuk Baba, for whom see F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v.

Montana,

27th June, 1918.

I had a violent & vain search for your letter about Mourtzouphlos & the column¹ & eventually found it, when I was not looking for it. It is evidently to do with the column, mentioned by Mandeville,² supporting the statue of Justinian outside S. Sophia. I suppose it was one of the "lucks" of the city; M. says, when Justinian dropped the orb he was carrying, it was all up, & in his time it had gone. One can imagine some vague tradition that, when the Βασιλεὺς (Justinian) was thrown from his column, the city was betrayed, *vel sim.*, which could easily be fudged up. Leo the Wise was supposed to have found magical MSS. in the tomb of Daniel³ (hoary old wheeze), the Daniel in question being of course, not the Prophet, but a monk, who evidently traded posthumously on his reputation.

Hill⁴ writes he has found in an antica shop in Sussex an Italian-cut coat of arms, bearing the name de Boxols & date 1480 something. By a series of deductions, *no* books, he comes to the opinion that it has to do with an English knight of Rhodes. This is really admirable archæology. I happen to know both name and coat belong to a prior of Catalonia who held Budrum.⁵ It is a far cry to Budrum from Sussex, and Catalonia *could* not, as I see, be deduced from the evidence, it is a matter of knowing or not. I think he will buy it⁶ & hope he can get its pedigree. There is a replica or very near at CP., I am almost sure.

¹ In *Χρονικὰ τοῦ Μορέως*, ed. Schmidt (London, 1904), ll. 875-902, the Venetians capture Constantinople and its traitor emperor, Mourtzouphlos. As they discuss his doom, an old man informs them that an Emperor Leo, being a prophet and philosopher (*sc.* Leo the Wise), had prophesied that a traitor emperor should be thrown down from a certain column near S. Sophia. The Venetians took the hint and cast Mourtzouphlos down from the column.

² Ed. Wright, p. 130.

³ Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, ii, 188.

⁴ Mr. G. F. Hill.

⁵ Halicarnassus.

⁶ See below, p. 121.

Montana,

1st July, 1918.

I write to you very easily & have lots of time of course. Really you get a sort of record of my reading and cogitations. I shall like to read them afterwards (it will be amusing to have it all dated).

Do you know a word *φουσσάτα* for an army? It came, as I remember, in a local "tradition" (?) of Marathon, got by Ross or some one & inserted in *Paradoseis*.¹ The teller tried to bring it into connection with fustanella, wh. wouldn't do of course. I think it comes in the Ἀλλή Παισιάς,² I asked our tame Albanian if he knew it, & he said *foushata* (root *foush* = plain) meant a battle-field in Alb.³— a curious little piece of information one might have difficulty in getting other how. Marathon is Albanian,⁴ I think.

I have got an entertaining book by Baring Gould, "Myths of the Middle Ages," 1867. On Druids he is a champion geyser. If you want to know *all* about them, you have only to study Dissenters' beliefs, particularly Methodists', who are nearly pure survivals.⁵ He laughs at his nurse for telling him Cornishmen had tails though! A propos, a good deal of interesting matter on Niam Niams,⁶ showing my theory of them as nursery bogies⁷ correct. People who have travelled in the E. (Mecca,⁸ CP.) report them incorrigible cannibals: a German doctor saw a N.N. lady on sale at a slave shop in CP. and could not be got rid of even a bargain, as they have been known to *eat children committed to their care*.⁹ This all fits together very nicely, and evidently the yarn about cutting off the extra piece

¹ Vols. i and ii of Polites' *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ Βίου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Λαοῦ*.

² A poem on Ali Pasha of Yannina.

³ See further n. 24 of F.W.H.'s article, "Constantinopolitana," in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xliii (1923), pp. 162-7, also below, p. 148.

⁴ F.W.H. refers to the population of the modern village.

⁵ *Curious Myths*, 2nd Series (1868), p. 343.

⁶ 1st Series, pp. 154 ff.

⁷ See above, p. 38.

⁸ In 1849 Descouret affirmed that the common talk of Mecca was all about the Niam Niams of Abyssinia (Baring Gould, 1st Series, p. 154).

⁹ 1st Series, p. 157. A slave-boy told Lady Duff Gordon (*Letters from Egypt*, pp. 288, 339) that he was one and that his mother wore a cow's tail down to her heels. The reference is probably to the cow's tail still worn by Herero women.

of liver they have, to render them harmless, was originally devised of their *tails*; their possession of these is vouched for by the same German doctor.

There are many interesting things in the book. I note, à propos of the Grail, that it gave oracles "expressed miraculously in characters, which appeared on the surface of the bowl and then vanished."¹ Surely this means it was (as I believe the *Sacro Catino* at Genoa² is) an Oriental glass vessel with lettering in the glass & faintly appearing. They may have had one at Glastonbury, or made this yarn to make people think they had, & it was too precious to shew. B.G. says it was all Druids: the more I see of this barding business, the less I think of it as archæology. I note also that at a monastery in Glocs. (not so far from Glastonbury) they shewed a reliquary containing the blood of Christ³ (Joseph of Arimathea again?), which blood people in a state of mortal sin could not see, like the Grail. When these had duly expiated their sins (cash down), they could see it—one side of the reliquary being opaque and the other transparent (ὁ τοῦ θαύματος, παπαδάκιά μου⁴).

Montana,

5th July, 1918.

What is the explanation of "Open Sesame"? I suppose it must be known. In one of the translated tales of Kunos the whole point turns on the action of the magic word "madjun," which immobilizes people.⁵ It is first used on birds, & sticks them to a tree: he is evidently thinking of bird-lime. Afterwards a long line of people, à la cinema, become rooted to the spot one after another. Kunos, who must be very nearly dotty, puts in his glossary "madjun = spell-food," apparently

¹ *Curious Myths*, 2nd Series, p. 343.

² Baedeker, *Northern Italy* (1899), p. 72.

³ Saintyves, *Reliques et Images Légendaires*, pp. 157 f.

⁴ *What a miracle, my little priests!*

⁵ *Forty-four Turkish Fairy Tales*, pp. 327 ff.

missing the whole point, which is that madjun is the name of a very sticky sweet (tr. "stickjaw"). The *name* of the sticky sweet, used as a charm, sticks birds and people. Then why does *sesame* have the contrary effect on doors? Is it because, where olives do not grow, it is the ordinary oil-producing plant, the oil being in regular domestic use, *inter alia*, for oiling locks, bolts, etc.? Thence its name is supposed to act magically on enchanted doors. Our tame Jew¹ says it is used in Turkey chiefly for making oil; best qualities are eaten, lower grades used for machines.

I have found out an interesting, perhaps valuable, thing from a combination of two Baring-Gould essays: (1) the legend of Mélusine,² the fairy ancestress of the Lusignans, might have come out of Kunos. (2) Same applies to the (quite distinct) legend of Beatrice,³ a mysterious woman met near a fountain, & eventually married, by an ancestor of Godefroi de Bouillon. (The first mention of this yarn is by Wm. of Tyre 1180,⁴ who doesn't believe it.) You thus have two Persian-coloured yarns of fairy ancestors, told in Poitou and Belgium of noble houses, which become conspicuously famous *in the Crusades*. This is the secular counter-part of the dispersion of stories of the saints. S. Hubert, in Luxemburg, adopts the legend of S. Eustace of Rome.⁵ Why? Because many relics of S. Eustace were carried to Belgium; in the churches where these were kept, the legend of S. Eustace would be read on his day, & probably expounded in the *vernacular* sermon. This is the nearest you could get to a chapbook, before printing & a popular reading public existed. *One* way of getting secular folklore *motifs* about was certainly by troubadours, who celebrated, with an eye to bread & butter, the heroic doings of a nobility according to area. This wd. have the same effect exactly as the vernacular sermon in the religious sphere. Another important condition of the percolation of Oriental *motifs* into Europe (it was *always* going on, but sometimes it trickled, other times gushed) must have been the fact that the

¹ A fellow patient.

² *Curious Myths*, 2nd Series, pp. 206 ff.

³ *Ib.* pp. 314 ff.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 323.

⁵ See above, p. 104, n. 2.

Crusades meant, not only conquest of the eastern parties, but their settlement. The first generation of settlers, whether or not cross-bred, would be *bilingual*, probably absolutely, & thus ideal transmuters of Arabic originals into French, reacting first on pilgrims, but ultimately on the Europe these represented & their own European homes.

Re Adramyt,¹ when I went with Leaf, I found that all the Greeks round there were Mityleneans & wore Mityl. costume. Even in the purely Turkish places there would be one Mitylenean, the bakkal² of course, selling things on tick and gradually getting a hold on everything, I am sure. This cultivation of the Peræa³ goes back, I think, to the 18th c., the foundation of Aivali in the 40's⁴ (I think), evidently with the approval of the Karaosmanoglu,⁵ is the great landmark. The general trend is from Europe to Asia via the islands, where you lost your old identity & started fresh. A similar emigration went on, you will remember, from the Sporades to the mainland, & Castellorizo people have colonized all their Peræa & handle the wood-trade⁶ there, buying from Yourouks⁷ & exporting, in their own ships, I suppose, to Egypt.

About staying in bed,⁸ it is etiquette to stay in bed if your temperature is up. When I had got over the nastiness of meals in bed (by gobbling them), I was so comfortable with my writing-table I might have stayed indefinitely. I gained weight on the transaction, which shews I was not very bad.

¹ The ancient Adramyttium.

² (Gk.) *grocer*.

³ (Gk.) *opposite mainland*.

⁴ Murray's *Handbook for Asia Minor* (London, 1895), p. 67.

⁵ For this important family see above, p. 51, and reff.

⁶ See p. 166 of F.W.H.'s *Depopulation in the Aegean Islands and the Turkish Conquest*, in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xvii (1910-1).

⁷ Nomad Turks.

⁸ Cf. above, p. 105.

Montana,

9th July, 1918.

Ask Halliday if this is any use to him. I believe he is interested in pixy-leading phenomena. A young clerk came for treatment to a missionary hospital at Yezd with S. Vitus' dance. He said he had gone for a walk and came to an old well where he saw "numbers of hideous dwarf-like goblins pelting each other with stones. When they saw him they crowded round, laughing, jeering, pulling his clothes, & then began to pelt him with stones." He ran for it, & this was the beginning of his illness (M. E. Hume Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia and Tkish. Arabia*, 166 f.).

Our tame Jew¹ told me his brother, as a child, suffered from fits. His mother took him to a local *tekke*² & incubated with him for 15 days. *Either* this *or* electrical treatment at CP. cured him. Funny for Jews, but mothers don't haggle about religions over such things.

Montana,

16th July, 1918.

I have had a lot of interesting things to read, including a jolly letter from your brother³ & one from Petrococchino.⁴ I got from Geneva a book by a ruthless prot. called *Dict. des Reliques*⁵: he catalogues duplicates in a most uncompromising way, and a lot of his by-products are interesting. He is occasionally funny, as, e.g., on SS. Nereus and Achilleus.⁶ "These were eunuch saints who preached chastity and celibacy, reminding one somewhat of the fox who had lost his tail."

I also had from Montreux a "Guide to Xtian. & Ecclesiastical Rome" by Toker & Malleson. I can't quite make

¹ See above, p. 117, n. 1.

² Bektashi monastery.

³ Mr. J. M. Dawkins.

⁴ Mr. D. P. Petrococchino.

⁵ Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Critique des Reliques*, Paris, 1821-2.

⁶ S. vv.

them out,¹ as they seem to be very keen on ritual but not at all popish. Many interesting things of course. *Inter alia*, I got a hint of why barbers fête as their patron S. Louis of France, which is so general as to be in Hachette's 1.50 *Almanach*. The reason is that the Doctors' guild at Rome centred in the national French church of S. Louis—presumably at one time the best doctors went to Montpellier²: the barbers, by way of the barber-surgeons, have adopted the doctors' saints, including SS. Cosmas & Damian even, and this is a common & interesting reason of the choice of guild patrons.³ When you only see one end, you wonder why on earth it is so. For instance, printers have, as one of their patrons, S. John in Porta Latina. He is patron of oil & colour men, from whom the printers probably have him via the MS. writers & illuminators, whom they succeeded. They⁴ do not seem to know why furriers should have S. Barbara⁵: it is suggested that the word *barba* has to do with it. But in Rome the parish church of S. Barbara was the guild church of the fur-mantle makers, who lived in this quarter. It is still called the church of the gibbonari. From the furriers again, the hatters (I think) have S. Barbara, & so on. If you remember, I saw the first principle earlier on, and recognised it in S. Mark being the general patron of glass-workers.⁶ This is all probably to be paralleled in classical cults and their development with regard to trades. And would make a nice subject for a bright young student. Can you tell me, by the way, whether S. Barbara is black in Greek icons?

I have got three books in that rather nice little French series "Les Littératures Populaires"—Lesbos, Albania, Egypt. "Albania"⁷ is only a French crib to Dozon's Albanian texts, and the tales are like any other *Dev*⁸ doings. From "Egypt"⁹

¹ F.W.H. did not discover that the writers are both women.

² The celebrated school of medicine at Montpellier dates from the twelfth century (Baedeker, *Southern France*, 1902, p. 270).

³ Tucker and Malleison, i, 261.

⁴ *Sc. Misses Tucker and Malleison.*

⁵ i, 197.

⁶ Above, p. 32.

⁷ Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, Paris, 1881.

⁸ *Demon.*

⁹ *Contes Populaires Inédits de la Vallée du Nil*, Paris, 1895.

(Yacoub Artin Pasha, a choice dago, I should think) I note that, in the Esbekiyeh quarter of Cairo, the place of the "Arab"¹ is taken in tales by an efrî² in black trowsers & a top hat.³ "Lesbos"⁴ is a collaboration between a French folklorist who evidently didn't know Modern Greek, a Mitylenean, and fairly numerous correspondents. It is not bad, but rather slight. Do you remember an obscene incident observed by Wheler,⁵ I think, at Myconos: a pirate, one of their regular customers, put in & took a girl for his mistress; as he sailed out, all the other girls held up their skirts to signify they were equally willing. The motif, etherealised to the nth, is used in one of the Mitylenean songs.⁶

Hill writes he collared that shield⁷ all right, which is a good thing.

Montana,

17th July, 1918.

I have got a lot of stuff out of my *Dict. des Reliques*.⁸ I find there that the monastery of Monte Vergine near Naples once possessed relics of S. *Cybele*, since renamed. I always take the author with salt, but, joined to what I know of Mte. Vergine from Comparetti & other sources,⁹ this makes out very well. The monastery was founded by Benedictines 1125 (Virgil legend beginning to go strong), and it seems uncertain whether it was then named Mte. Vergine or Mte. Virgilio. They still show remains of a "temple of Cybele" which occupied the site—the influence of Mte. Cassino probably has something to

¹ See above, p. 56.

² *Spirit*.

³ Artin Pasha, p. 17.

⁴ Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, Paris, 1894.

⁵ *Journey into Greece*, p. 63.

⁶ Georgeakis and Pineau, p. 157.

⁷ See above, p. 114. Mr. Hill described it in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 21st Nov., 1918.

⁸ Collin de Plancy's.

⁹ See above, p. 102.

say. But it seems to me certain that the S. Cybele whose relics (& temple?) were shown was Virgil's *Sybil* in the first instance. Comparetti hasn't this, but it is a rather neat explanation of the "temple of Cybele" for my pseudo-temples.

I have also the germ of an idea for the Holy House,¹ but do not know what it is worth till I have seen Chevalier's book²: of the latter I only know that he has shown up the documents, on which the story of the Flitting rests, as forgeries of later date than the event, which is all to the good, but does not help explain how the legend arose. I think it is often useful in these things to begin from an apparently arbitrary detail: that is why I have always laid stress on Tersatto.³ If Loretto had made the yarn off its own bat, the Santa Casa would have come direct to the favoured spot and stayed there, and in 1291, the date of the fall of Acre. Instead of this, it goes in 1291 first to Tersatto, then to Sclavonia, leaving in 1294 for Loretto, where it changes place twice more,⁴ all the reasons for the minor flittings being perfectly frivolous. I believe, then, that 1294 is a real date in this connection, just as 1284 is a real date for the Pied Piper,⁵ whether the P.P. yarn is a reminiscence of the Children's Crusade, or, as I think, of an epidemic of S. Vitus's dance, with hallucinations, among children.

Another point which may be important, is that the Holy House is never recorded to have gone to towns, always to country districts, where people are simple, distractions few & much talked about. Something like this may have happened. A group of players, perhaps pseudo-friars, making out to be the evicted ones of Nazareth, may have toured in Istria and Sclavonia and also in the Marches, performing a kind of mystery (it is the Annunciation that the House is connected with) in which a temporary building or booth represented the house of the Holy Family, collecting of course for the Santa Cas(s)!. The various places where the "Santa Casa" was set up around Loretto would be remembered, and

¹ Of Loretto.

² Above, p. 93, n. 4.

³ See above, p. 61.

⁴ Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire des Reliques*, ii, 286 f.

⁵ Cf. Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 2nd Series, no. v.

the permanent Santa Casa they have now (certainly not built for a church) may have been a building they made use of on one or more occasions, just as the "House of Rienzi" at Rome was made use of for the local Via Dolorosa, figuring as the "House of Pilate"¹: there is a much more modern house at Seville,² where the processions are still famous, called the "house of Pilate" in the same way. The memory of this mystery, which may have been played in towns, too, lingered in the country districts, where it was quite an event (whereas in towns it was only one among many), on both sides of the Adriatic, until, after 150 years or so, it became a fixed legend with plenty of miraculous detail. As far as I have got yet, there seems to have been no propaganda in favour of the house till the 2nd half of the 15th. The enquiries made in Istria may have been genuine enough, if the players had come from there & their passage dimly remembered on both sides, though the detail is of course doctored. There is an ascending scale for miracles (stimulated by competition), which amounts to progressive lying. (1) A sacred object is brought from overseas in a ship, miracles happening on the way (S. Mark,³ picture of N.D. du Perpétuel Secours)⁴; (2) a sacred object comes in a boat without oars or sail or human direction (Santo Volto di Lucca)⁵; (3) a sacred object flies on its own without boat or anything. Even (3) is quite early at Jerusalem, though a *house* is rather a mouthful: I believe, however, in the Arabo-Persian cycle a Flying Castle⁶ is quite an ordinary "property." Shall like to have your opinion on this.

Note.—I think now the idea can be simplified. It is rather early for a mystery. Perhaps friars were hawking a picture (or relics) of the Annunciation in connection with the Nazareth establishment. Some kind of representation of the Annunciation is not out of the question, if it is true that S. Francis already made a rude representation of the Nativity.⁷

¹ Murray's *Hand-Book of Rome* (London, 1899), p. 212.

² Bradshaw's *Spain and Portugal* (London, 1865), p. 56.

³ 25th April.

⁴ Above, p. 60.

⁵ Above, p. 49.

⁶ Above, p. 75.

⁷ For this well-known incident see P. Sabatier, *Life of S. Francis of Assisi*. London, 1894, p. 285.

Montana,

22nd July, 1918.

I am lighter this week owing to hot weather, everyone is nearly, but *inside*, they say, I am going strong.

I have struck a jolly library¹ which admits people like me, if they behave. The Swiss seem to really understand that books are to be read by the largest number of people possible, if you want to get full value out of them. I am very grateful and promise myself good hunting, of which more anon.

I found a nice thing in the Dibra version of the Bridge of Arta,² which explains a point I have been on the outskirts of some time. Milk continued to flow from the place where the wife was walled up, till her child grew up; since then it has been water. Evidently the point is a putlog-hole left by the builders in the pier, which wd. sweat the lime of the mortar while the bridge was new, & afterwards trickle water after rain. I had got as far as the lime. Another curious point is that the tale is called "The Fox's bridge" & there is no attempt to explain this. I suppose the old wheeze about diddling the devil by promising him the first living thing that crossed³ runs concurrently with the B. of A. story, a fox being the victim.

I also found in my Roman guide⁴ there is a quite early painting of the Epiphany with 4 magi (Kings of Isles, Tarshish, Seba, Saba), so that view was evidently current in early times before, or along with, the 3-view (gold, frankincense, myrrh; Shem, Ham, Japhet; youth, maturity, age), which eventually won. The predominance of the 3-view is interesting for folklore, as the 4-view is obviously backed by Scripture, as they understood it. A fine tale in my scurrilous dictionary⁵ about a man preaching on the Gifts & got muddled, couldn't think what the third gift was. Finally, his eye catching sight of a picture of the magi, in wh. one was black as usual, he said: "The

¹ Of the Faculté de Théologie Libre at Lausanne. F.W.H. immediately dubbed them the "Wee Frees."

² Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, p. 256.

³ Cf. the hare on p. 97.

⁴ Tucker and Malleison, i, 110.

⁵ Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Critique des Reliques*, iii, 42-3.

third brought nothing at all, and Christ turned him as black as your hat," winding up with a warning about people who came to church with nothing to put in the plate.

I have had Buchon's *Morée*¹ to skip through. He is astonishingly bad, I imagine had no ideas beyond MSS., very vain & silly, but has some interesting stuff, too. Every church is *assumed* to be on a temple site, & this before Petit de Julleville. I imagine he was influenced by Pittakis, who, as you remember, forged the inscr. to make the Parth.² changed into a church of S. Sophia by Justinian—or so they say. He³ says of the cave of Trophonios that it lasted till the 4th c., "il y avait tant de force dans ces souvenirs d'émotion et de terreur," wh. is characteristic of his time and the development of the Prot. + Voltaire theories of those wicked charlatans of priests. Of course *every* one liked a good oracle, & the flesh-creeping was part of the fun. This whole theory, one sees now, was frightfully overdone. Every one expected tremendous revelations of mechanical devices at Delphi and Eleusis particularly, shewing up how these pagan priests used to diddle their clientèle: the same with S. Patrick's purgatory.⁴ The fact is, of course, there was a certain amount of trickery, perhaps a lot, but quite simple devices were sufficient for a clientèle (pagan or Xtian.) which was out to see miracles & predisposed by special treatment.

Have you ever got the chapbook on Tenos picture issued since King Constantine's miraculous recovery? It is a naïf piece of work, evidently not at all fudged as regards the discovery of the picture. I note that the original apparition of the P.⁵ inciting to the digging for the picture was in 1821 *about* the feast of Annunciation. This digging was quite abortive, & the picture was only found by renewing the incitements to dig in 1823. So the connection now cried up between N.D. of Tenos & the Epanastasis⁶ is the slightest possible,

¹ Paris, 1843.

² See Lambros, *Ἀθήναι περὶ τὰ Τέλη τοῦ 13' Αἰῶνος*, p. 34.

³ Buchon, p. 223.

⁴ For a bibliography see Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1st Series, no. xi.

⁵ Panagia.

⁶ The Greek Revolution. The picture is now said to have been found shortly before it.

and the finding probably a put up job. As, however, a picture was miraculously found, it proves that S. Luke painted it. You would have thought they wd. have handled it better than this, but it shews what the clientèle will stand. Practically they are indifferent to the myth if they can get miracles, and their view of a miracle-working shrine is exactly their view of a lottery—"not nearly every one gets anything out of it, but *this time* it *might* be me : there *are* enormous prizes." And of course the excursion counts, as I have before noted.¹ I have got a new idea on incubation,² not revolutionary at all, but a contribution to the psychological side. You shall have it, when ripper.

Montana,

25th July, 1918.

Do you know Jonah II, 2 ? "Out of the belly of Hell cried I," i.e. out of the fish. This must be the original of the hell-fish monster *via* the Descent into Hell,³ Jonah being of course the O.T. type of the Burial and Resurrection.

I have just got yours of 20. vi, frontier having suddenly opened. Thank you very much, especially for jolly tale about Mahommed & the monk.⁴ It is quite new to me, though I had always heard there *was* a monk in it, but I have heard another name (Sergius,⁵ a Nestorian). The well business I remember in folk-tales as a way of getting rid of people⁶—only, if it was the 3rd son, of course it suited him better than ever.

¹ See above, p. 102.

² This appears in chapter liii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

³ A type of Greek eikon.

⁴ To make people believe his revelation, Mohammed wrote the Koran and prepared a blank duplicate, which he showed to the people. Meanwhile his accomplice, a monk called Pachomios, was down a well with the written Koran. Then Mohammed lowered the blank copy into the well, where the monk changed the books. Having drawn up the written copy, Mohammed bade all who believed in the miracle he had wrought throw a stone into the well. The people obeyed, and so the monk was stoned to death and prevented from revealing Mohammed's trick.

⁵ J. L. Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, p. 236.

⁶ e.g., Kunos, *Forty-Four Turkish Fairy Tales*, p. 83.

It must be a good old wheeze for putting people out of the way, as Joseph's adventure testifies. That is the simplest form. In the folk-tales, as I remember, the man is sent down to get something & having got it & sent it up, is left there by the villain. The stoning¹ of course is in reference to the "stoning the devil" at Mecca, which has never been satisfactorily explained.

About the B.V. & burning bush,² I saw an eikon in Candia cath. of it & thought it came in the ἀκάθιστος³ or the οἶκοι⁴ (is it the ἀκάθιστος that has all that string of images, ladder, rose,⁵ etc., attributed one each to the patriarchs & prophets?), but was not sure of my ground as regards the W. Since then, I have a quite distinct case of the recurrence of the miracle in connection with the finding of an image of N.D.,⁶ which is clear proof that the idea exists also in the liturgy & probably eikonography. There is a useful "tree of Jesse" in this connection in high relief at Sion. I think I am right in deriving the two themes from the two art-types, especially as it is almost always the B.V., not other saints, that is discovered in this way. The original bush, by the way, was to be seen at the Sinai monastery.

Egg-charm over entrances⁷ is very complicated. The importance of the keystone in arches, I expect, gave it a semi-magic value, & I should not be surprised to learn that the craft had no end of wheezes in this connection. At Nîmes amphitheatre some of the arches are protected by a phallus, perhaps ones they had some difficulty with, one at the Pont du Gard.⁸ The mask, which has become conventional in heavy Renaissance work on the keystone, may have begun this way. Some kind of an orb—or egg-like boss—is very frequent over Mahom. archways. Probably there is complete confusion of

¹ In Professor Dawkins' tale.

² Cf. above, p. 93.

³ Hymn to the Virgin.

⁴ See above, p. 26.

⁵ It is the ἀκάθιστος.

⁶ N. D. de l'Épine, near Chalons, for which see Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Critique des Reliques*, ii, 282.

⁷ This is à propos of the Castello dell' Uovo (above, p. 97). For gate-charms in general see F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v.

⁸ See above, p. 97: cf. Millin, *Voyage dans les Départemens du Midi*, iv, 209.

two ideas (1) protecting the arch against falling in, (2) making the entrance lucky for people entering. The egg's point is that it has no opening (impregnability). I suppose that is why votive ostrich-eggs are suspended,¹ not by a simple hole & string, but by a kind of cage, which avoids the necessity of a hole.

I expect, as you say, "Insuber"² is too clever, had doubts, as you have seen; but there were learned donkeys about even then—I suppose Troynovaunt from Trinobantes is Geoffrey of Monmouth's? Yours is a noble attempt to grapple with the three eggs: it doesn't scan or construe well but that may, as you say, be nothing against it. I punctuate "Ovo mira novo":—I *renew* (my) wonders with an egg—but am forced to admit "new egg" has a point, as it was a *first-born* egg that V. used.

To fill up, here is a nice combination. From Sébillot I have a yarn that the B.V., while nursing Christ, fell asleep,³ & a snake came & sucked her breast. This derives from the fact that (snakes like milk &) one of the pains of hell frequently represented in Romanesque sculpture is an (unchaste) woman being *bitten* in the breast by a serpent. In an early "letter written by Jesus Christ," impressing on people the necessity of paying tithes (!) it is stated that if they do *not*, winged dragons will come & bite their wives' breasts.⁴ The two distinct new applications of the eikonographic theme are amusing for the study of such things.

I note also in connection with the "dancing pilgrimage" of Echternach⁵ (Luxemburg) that the procession (wh. was to stay a dancing epidemic originally) dances *3 steps forward & two back*. Cath. de Medicis did a pilgrimage to the H.L. by proxy, & her man carried out this programme all the way.⁶ So probably it was an old formula of aggravated pilgrimage, used as a penance.

¹ In churches and mosques in the Near East.

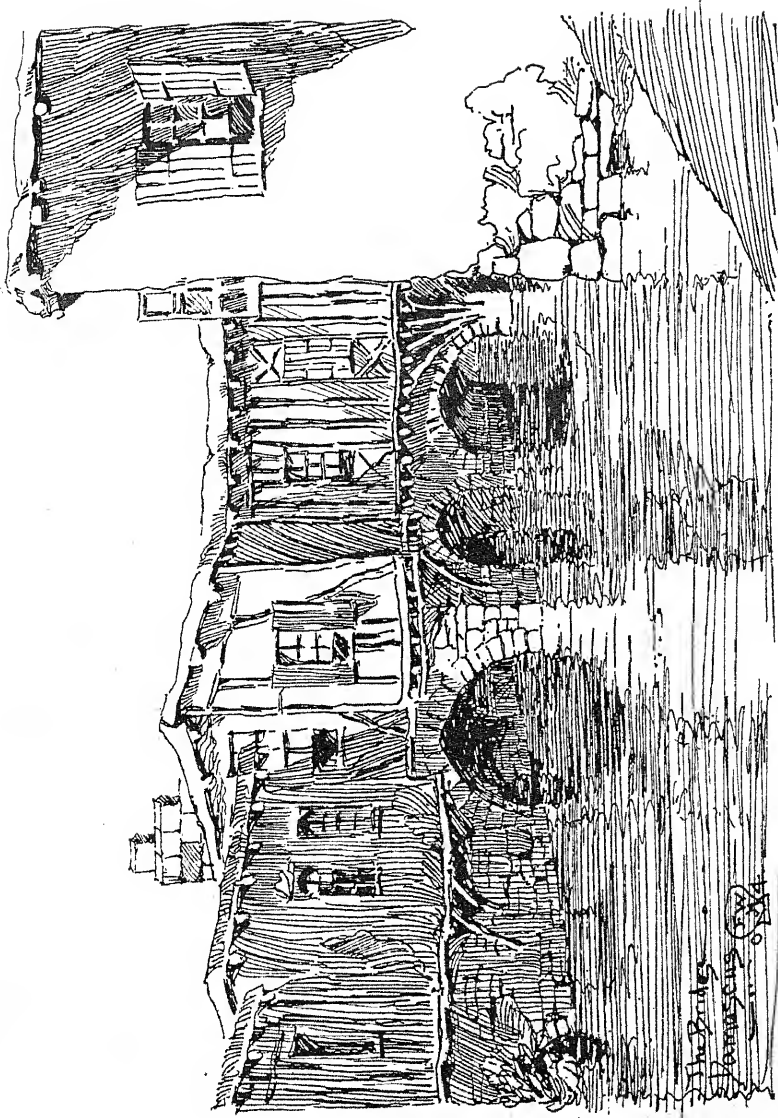
² In F.W.H.'s suggested emendation (above, p. 97) of the inscription on the Castello dell' Uovo.

³ *Folk-Lore de France*, iii, 256.

⁴ Collin de Plancy, ii, 108.

⁵ *Id.*, iii, 196.

⁶ *Id.*, ii, 415.



A BRIDGE AT DAMASCUS

Montana,

29th July, 1918.

The cockleshell idea¹ must, I think, be modified, it may be part, but is not the whole, of the story, as I now see it.

As to Pelasgians & Olympians, I have since a very nice little pamphlet by a (Catholic) pupil of Duchesne² which has the main idea all right. He says (1) local saints evicted tenacious local gods better than anything else & (2) B.V. cult overshadowed them finally—which is the gist of the matter. As to my intermediate Peter stratum, he gives the interesting case of Evesham (viii c., I think), which I mentioned before.³ With this contrast the miracle (xv. c., I think) of Folgoet,⁴ where the tomb of a devout servant of the B.V. performs a miracle & the B.V. gets the church.

I think I remember from the Russian book⁵ that babies are given communion there, but that children are *confirmed and confessed* at a suitable age.

I thank you for your good opinion of me, but Oriental contributions to European hagiology⁶ is a large order: you have to consider the tremendous influence (on *everything*, as I now begin to realise) of the great clearing-house Syria-Irak. Edessa seems to have been most important. I don't believe, e.g., S. Alessio⁷ is more than an edifying Edessene tale lugged by force to Rome. The first Seven Sleepers⁸ yarn comes from Syria &, I think, the history of the Cross, obviously Abgarus & Veronica, and so all along the line. Asia Minor, except the Hellenized coast, seems to me less and less important, just lines of communication. Syria, if you include Irak, is quite

¹ Above, p. 88.

² Dufourcq, *La Christianisation des Foules*; cf. above, p. 107.

³ Above, p. 107.

⁴ See, e.g., Maury, *Croyances et Légendes du Moyen Âge*, p. 166, and below, p. 221.

⁵ Romanoff, *Rites of the Greco-Russian Church*: see above, p. 89. Professor Dawkins had written that first communion was not important in Greece, as F. W. H. said (above, p. 90), because it was given to babies.

⁶ Professor Dawkins had suggested that F.W.H. should write an article or a book with this title.

⁷ See below, p. 135.

⁸ See above p. 18.

as important as C'polis for many sides of the survival of ancient civilization.

Re Virgil & Culex,¹ I knew there was a fly talisman before at Cp. (I think by Apoll. Tyan.), but this is only by the way. The point is (1) that it is the earliest recorded activity of Virgil as magician & (2) that it is a moralised story, evidently due to a cleric or literary bloke. In fact, *if* there is a passage connecting Marcellus & the *Culex*, I should consider my point proved.² The idea once in the air, the culex becomes fly under influence of traditional exploits of magicians all right, and V.'s activities as magician are along quite traditional & Oriental lines to my mind.

Montana,

8th August, 1918.

Prof. Montet of Geneva has lent us Lane's Arabian Nights, the small edition without notes,³ but amusing to read. It includes also the 40 thieves, in which I note that *sesame* is nothing but a magic word to the brothers: the one who forgets remembers only that it was the name of a grain & tries "barley." I am also relieved to find that it was a *door* that opened, not the mountain side, and shall want a lot of persuading now to believe that I am wrong—the *madjun*⁴ parallel is too good. But likely Lane or Burton has it in his notes.⁵

For my stuff there are many small points which are pertinent, on account particularly of the demonology side. The *djinns* are not, so far as I have seen, characterized as "Arabs" as in Turkey & the Balkans⁶: probably black men were much too familiar to writer & reader to make much impression. Indeed, there is little or no relation to Kunos'⁷ or your Cappa-

¹ See above, p. 96.

² Cf. below, p. 208.

³ London, 1895.

⁴ See above, p. 116.

⁵ No: see *Supplemental Nights*, iii, 369, and Clouston's Appendix in the same volume, p. 594.

⁶ Cf. above, p. 56.

⁷ *Forty-four Turkish Fairy Tales*.

docian type of thing¹ except stray *motifs*, probably from much earlier common origins I hope to get the Pantchatantra soon from my theologians² & may, through it, get on the trail of S. Eustace again: I feel sure the idea is ultimately Indian & the P. has been translated so often & so early that one can hardly limit its range.

Do you know the key to this? A man is condemned to be hung and another man is hung in his stead. Eventually this is discovered, and on examination they find that, whereas the man who should have been hung was a Sunni, the corpse in their hands is that of a heretic and has written on his heels the names of "the two sheikhs."³ I thought at first that it must mean that Shias had the names of Hassan & Hussein tattooed on their heels, if they made the Kerbela⁴ pilgrimage, as Xtians used to have a cross or something, if they went to Jerus.⁵—the custom is ancient, I believe. But I don't think they would put the name of any one they considered holy in such a dishonourable place as the heels⁶; perhaps it is a wheeze to trample on the names of the *slayers* of the Holy Family at every step: in which case Yezid & Shimr would be hot candidates.

I have only found two instances of invocation of saints⁷ as yet, both in the same story: their help is personal & immediate. I am not at all sure whether Mahoms. have the same idea of interceding with God through saints as R.C.'s, & incline to think rather that they conceive of a saint, less as a court favourite who can do a job, than as a person entrusted by God with powers to use at discretion, God Himself being high & apart and concerned with the running of things in general. This is a thing to keep an eye on, I think, for general interest.

¹ See the folktales in Professor Dawkins' *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*.

² See above, p. 124.

³ Lane, *Thousand and One Nights* (London, 1895), p. 196.

⁴ Where Husain's body lies buried.

⁵ F.W.H. is not thinking of the cross Crusaders wore on the shoulder, but rather of the marks described by Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus*, p. 197.

⁶ Sunnis might say this in order to cast discredit on Hasan and Husain.

⁷ Collin, *Histoire Sacrée de Limoges*, p. 557.

Montana,

13th August, 1918.

The weather is a bit better and so am I, gaining a trifle last week : lungs always (they say) improving and cicatrising.

I found out a thing that may amuse you from Maury's "Magie et Astrologie." He says¹ *Devs* are originally *Devas*, who have come down in the world in Persia and are now no more than bad giants. *Bhut* in Hindustani, similarly, meant small local deities but, since Islam came to India, it means *evil* spirits : I suppose it is the Persian & Turkish *pout* (idol), which we know chiefly in the compound *pout-perest*.

I came across the other day a curious thing about one of the authentic "Veronicas" kept in France (Laon). It had an inscription which several learned pundits had read as Greek etc. till a Russian came along & interpreted it easily as Slavonic. I imagine it must be in the same order of things as the printed shrouds the Russian pilgrims buy now at Jerus. and probably the Turin shroud also. The inscription is translated "Portrait du Sauveur imprimé sur le mouchoir de la Véronique."²

I have come across a very good & complete case of Jewish incubation near Damascus, Elisha being the saint who heals and the incubation-place a vault under a synagogue, the whole being run by Jews in a Mahom. village. I have it from two sources,³ neither particularly interested, so they are free from "scientific" bias and complement each other. I count to get more on it, as it seems to be close by Damascus & well-known. The important thing there is no hope of getting at its age. The Jews are *said* to have revered the Maccabees' remains at Antioch⁴ in quite early Xtian. times, though they have of course no taste for old bones in general. The Dam. place is not mainly a grave but (like the Khidr places) a spot frequented by Elisha's spirit.⁵

¹ P. 196. See further below, p. 147.

² Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire des Reliques*, iii, 187.

³ Probably I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 101, and Mrs. Mackintosh, *Damascus and its People*, p. 98.

⁴ Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenkults*, p. 142.

⁵ Mrs. Mackintosh, *loc. cit.* Further notes on this place [Jobar] may be found in chapter liii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.



Quimperlé
Sept '99 SWH.

QUIMPERLÉ

Montana,

25th August, 1918.

I have made rather a nice little scoop to-day by a long shot at Toulouse. When I was at Argentières nearly a year ago, the padre lent me his little *Lives of the Saints*,¹ which I went through for tips. I noted, inter alia, that S. Exuperius² was credited with having transformed a temple at Toulouse into a ch. of the B.V., & I put this by. From Baedeker I found out that this church³ no longer existed, having been rebuilt in the 18th c. So I wrote on spec., very apologetically, to the librarian of Toulouse, who kindly tells me the church replaced was "certainly a temple" and *dodecagonal*.⁴ So there you are again.

I have a further theory, no real evidence, that the N.D. at Toulouse was really a copy of the original S. Croce at Rome & originally so dedicated. I have found 4-apsidal churches of this dedication so far apart as near Arles⁵ and at Quimperlé⁶ (pl. 22) in Brittany, and am sure prototypes are in it. The chapel of S. Helena in the Roman Croce is full of Jerus. earth,⁷ so the dedication is an appropriate one for cemetery chapels, which is what my two extra-Roman specimens⁸ seem to be. I have written to Mrs. Strong⁹ to know what the plan of the existing chapel at Rome is. I shall also find out that of the chapel of the Invention at Jerusalem, wh. should be the prototype¹⁰ of all. I only remember the great fat capitals.

Have you ever been to les Trois Stes. Maries near Arles¹¹? It is now a curious church frequented at its panegyris¹² by gypsies. They now say the 3 Maries were M. Magdalene,

¹ P. Guérin, *Vie des Saints*.

² 28th September.

³ La Daurade, see Baedeker, *Southern France* (1902), p. 78.

⁴ See further details below, p. 239.

⁵ At Mont-Major, see Peyre, *Nîmes, Arles, Orange*, pp. 124-5.

⁶ Mérimée, *Études sur les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 20, n. 2.

⁷ Murray's *Hand-Book of Rome* (London, 1899), p. 149.

⁸ i.e., at Mont-Major and Quimperlé.

⁹ See below, p. 176.

¹⁰ See below, p. 152.

¹¹ See, e.g., Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire des Reliques*, ii, 177.

¹² *Religious picnic*.

M. Jacobé and M. Salomé, & that they had with them Martha, Lazarus, S. Maximin, & a black servant called Sarah, who is the object of the gypsy cult. The legend is very difficult and evidently has lots of threads. I think myself S. Mary the Egyptian must have been in it originally & got weeded out for chronological reasons. This wd. explain the gypsies. But another supposed monument of the landing of the saints is a relief called the Tremeaie on a rock near Les Baux¹ (pl. 23), apparently ancient. Now the Les Baux (de Balsa) claimed descent from Balthazar the Mage & bear the Bethlehem star in their arms.² I am wondering if there was an earlier legend that the magi landed in Provence (what do they call the 3 kings in Provençal?), they are more obvious travellers than the "3 Maries," and one of them was black, so the gypsies are catered for again. But it is a long subject, & I've no books for it.

Montana,

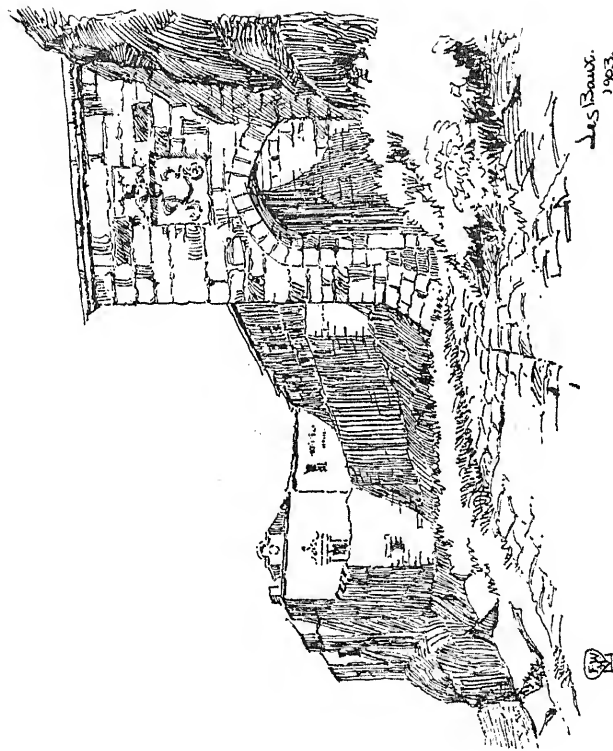
28th August, 1918.

Yours of 19 July, 1918, just received. Bless you, the R.C. papades *tell* you all the wheezes about cults starting & getting popular, only they think it's the hand of God & in reality it is, as you say, sloppy nuns run down & in a bad nervous state with idées fixes and Jesuit confessors, who see that the faithful can be edified by a discreet edition of their burblings. I allude more particularly to the Sacred Heart.³ There is very little, almost no conscious, fraud in these matters, and what there is, is much simpler than what priest-hunters wd. have you believe. People are so keen on this kind of religion, you have to definitely *oppose* them if you want to stop it, & if you don't, the faintest encouragement results in a wonderful boom. In Greece I have got some nice examples of what they

¹ J. Canonge, *Notice sur la Ville des Baux*, Nîmes, 1844, pp. xi-xii: T. A. Cook, *Old Provence*, i, 75 ff.

² See J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial général*, p. 137.

³ See above, pp. 30, 33.



LES BAUX

do on their own. I suppose you have that naïf little tract on Tenos?¹ There was quite obviously no priestcraft about that "discovery," and even now it is the worst possible priestcraft to let such a thing be printed. That curious man Stephen Graham has an interesting chapter on a man, who used to hawk Jerus. anticas in Russia²—a thorough scamp, but had some curious corners of honesty. There was also a girl caught in the early 18th, by a priest, too, who made her living as a professional pilgrim, getting miraculously cured of dumbness with great regularity.³ She got bowled out by trying it on the Jacobites, recovering her speech for the 47th time at James II's tomb. But she had done well at several other pilgrimage places, and apparently made her living by it.

The story of S. Alessio is really pretty revolting, though I should think he certainly never existed except in the form of an edifying hero of monkish romance. He was the son of a Roman noble; *having got married*, he at once left his wife and became a sort of perpetual pilgrim, particularly at Edessa. After he had done this some time, he returned to Rome & lived in his parents' house, without disclosing his identity, as under-porter or so, eventually dying, when his identity was discovered by his mother too late. He is in *Golden Legend* & kept in modern *Acta*.⁴ The staircase under which he lived is shewn at Rome.⁵ I fancy the original legend was Edessene & early, & that he *really* did the desert hermit somewhere in the E. Otherwise why lug Edessa in? The pathetic side made the story popular, and there is a *Cantilène de Saint Alexis*, which is supposed to be one of the earliest pieces of real French poetry, ed. by Gaston Paris.⁶ Story in *Roba di Roma* mentions⁷ that a popular play on the subject was much appreciated still in Italy, as also another I know nothing of, do you? on a Sta. Rosanna, a converted Saracen. I have

¹ See above, p. 125.

² *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, pp. 248 ff.

³ Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire des Reliques*, ii, 415 ff.

⁴ 17th July.

⁵ See Baedeker, *Central Italy* (1909), p. 327.

⁶ (Bibliothèque des Hautes Etudes), Paris, 1872.

⁷ i, 280.

seen a crib of part of the Cantilène, the mother's lament seems to be the pièce de résistance.

Arbre Sec and *Arbre Sol*¹ I am getting at through Hill's kindness. They are discussed by Yule in his *Marco Polo*. There seems to be heaps about them, & I have no doubt that Huon is not the only romance that mentions *arbre sec*, it is probably an idea bagged in the Crusades.²

I have been stupid lately, now a bit better & have some curious literature from the Wee Frees at Lausanne. A book of Jewish pilgrimages³ gives much food for thought. Have also a French R.P.'s journey to the 7 churches,⁴ & note that he cuts out Polycarp's grave⁵ altogether, & discusses & rejects Panagia Kapulu at Ephesus, seeing clearly that it is a Byz. church of fairly developed type. He is *not* a monk. S. Polycarp is run by Capuchins. P. Kapulu is of Augustinian origin. Query, connection? Many priests dislike monks, I believe.

Montana,

29th August, 1918.

In Carmoly's *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, Brux. 1847, p. 47, is a letter from the King of the Khozars (c. 960) to the minister of Abd-el-Rahman of Cordova, mentioning the land of *Nemez*. On this the editor gives the following note p. 93 f. : (pays de Nemez) L'Allemagne; c'est ainsi que les Slaves ont coutume de désigner les allemands et aujourd'hui encore Allemand en Russe est *Nemez*, *Nemtché* ou *Nemtchin*. Voyez la *Chronique de Nestor*, traduction française, p. 148. Les arabes

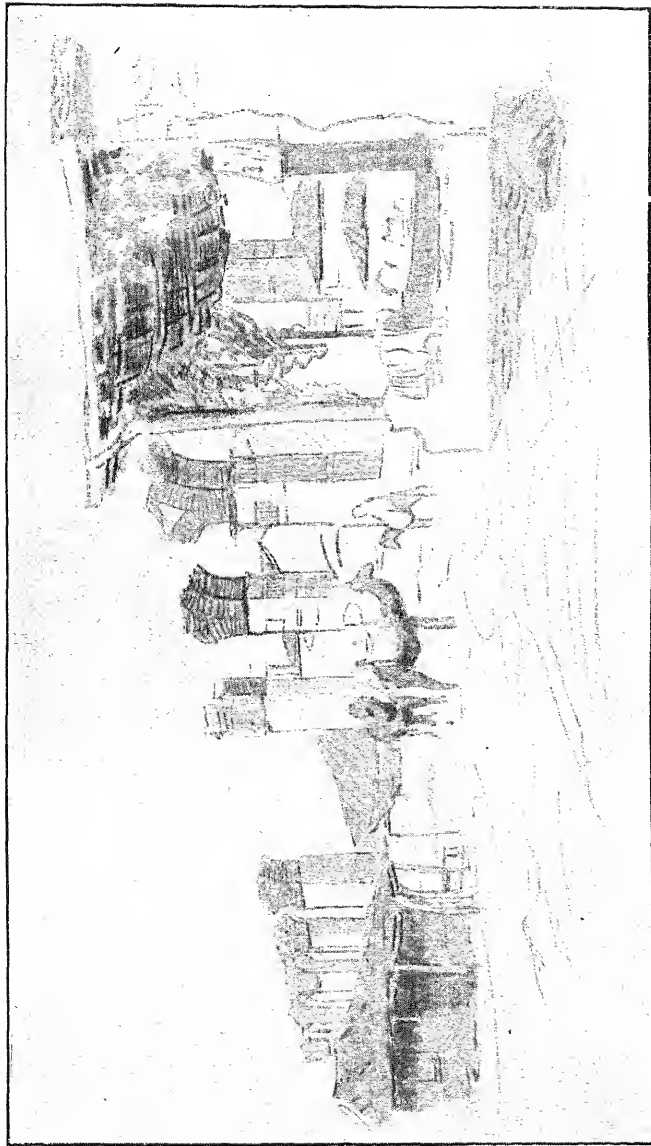
¹ See above, p. 108.

² On the whole Yule's *Marco Polo* (ed. Cordier), i, 131-3, confirms this. Mandeville (Yule, i, 131) places the Dry Tree at Hebron.

³ Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, Brussels, 1847.

⁴ I cannot identify this author but cf. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine* (London, 1857), p. 455. Roman Catholics of Smyrna associate the church of Panagia Kapulu with the Virgin's life and death at Ephesus. Ramsay (*Letters to the Seven Churches*, London, 1904, p. 218) half-heartedly accepts this theory as another proof of the survival of religious tradition.

⁵ Cf. Sestini, *Lettres* (Paris, 1789), iii, 10.



AYASOLUK (EPHESUS)

et autres peuples de l'orient donnent ordinairement à l'Allemagne le nom de *Nemsiah* (voy. d'Herbelot, art. *Roum*), qui est la même chose.

So nemtche¹ has a good long history.

These Jewish pilgrimages² give me beyond details the following general ideas. Veneration, if not worship, of saints is well established among them in the middle ages. Saints' graves are found in close proximity to, and even *in*, synagogues, wh. have much of the sanctity of churches, especially if *founded* by distinguished rabbis.³ The "book of the law" takes the place of images rather. I have found one case where such a book was so holy that it killed you to look at it⁴; paralleled in a Syrian Image of the B.V.⁵ The 40-group⁶ does not appear, saint grouping is by multiples of 7 & 12, in spite of 40 being a Semitic mystic number. I have also an excellent elaborate case of the discovery of a Jewish saint's grave by the falling of a wall⁷; and a saint disputed by Jews & Arabs.⁸ Apparently the way to get round a Jewish saint is to recite at his grave tags from his own Works!⁹

Montana,

4th September, 1918.

I can't remember much about the conscription rituals,¹⁰ as I didn't take particular note: it is scattered up and down Sébillot's magnificent *Folklore de France*. I noticed particularly that it all threw back on old formulæ, "pagan" like driving nails, and "Christian" like holy water wheezes.

¹ Cf. above, p. 61.

² Carmoly's.

³ Carmoly, p. 136.

⁴ Carmoly, pp. 527, 542-3.

⁵ J. L. Porter, *Damascus*, London, 1870, p. 130.

⁶ For the "Forty" see F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, chapter xxix.

⁷ Carmoly, p. 244.

⁸ Carmoly, p. 263.

⁹ Carmoly, p. 182.

¹⁰ Above, p. 109.

I don't know if it has been brought together. S., following his (very excellent) scheme, does not classify it all together, but under "nails," "holy water," etc.

I have heard from Burrows¹ asking me to stand for the Korais chair²; it do beat all that they should think of me in such a connection, but poumons are an excellent excuse for point-blank refusal. I don't think I'd take it if offered me straight. I am not in the least professorial and have such a lot I am really interested in and want to do.

Montana,

5th September, 1918.

I think I told you I had had de Brèves' *Voyage*³ & found some good things. I note among the curiosities that he has⁴ still in the early 17th the yarn about S. Helen throwing a nail of the Cross into the Gulf of Adalia to stop a storm. This is reported by many xv c. pilgrims, and of course is a crib of the miracle told quite early, 5th, I think, of St. H. stilling the Adriatic⁵ in the same way. The Adalia legend is evolved from this prototype joined with the facts, (1) that the Gulf of Adalia was (& indeed, for all St. H.'s endeavours, *is*) a bad place to be caught, & (2), that "Satalia," as they used to call it, if properly mishandled, sounds not unlike S. Helena: the latter is clear enough from the pilgrims. Now the name *Santorini*⁶ (pl. 25) has always bothered me, & I have never been able to trace the least real connection with S. Irene,⁷ which is the conventional explanation. It is obvious to any pious mind that a miracle *must* have happened there,⁸ and the earliest mediæval name I know for it is *Santellini* (Buondel-

¹ The late Principal Ronald Burrows.

² Of Modern Greek at London University.

³ *Relation des Voyages*, Paris, 1628.

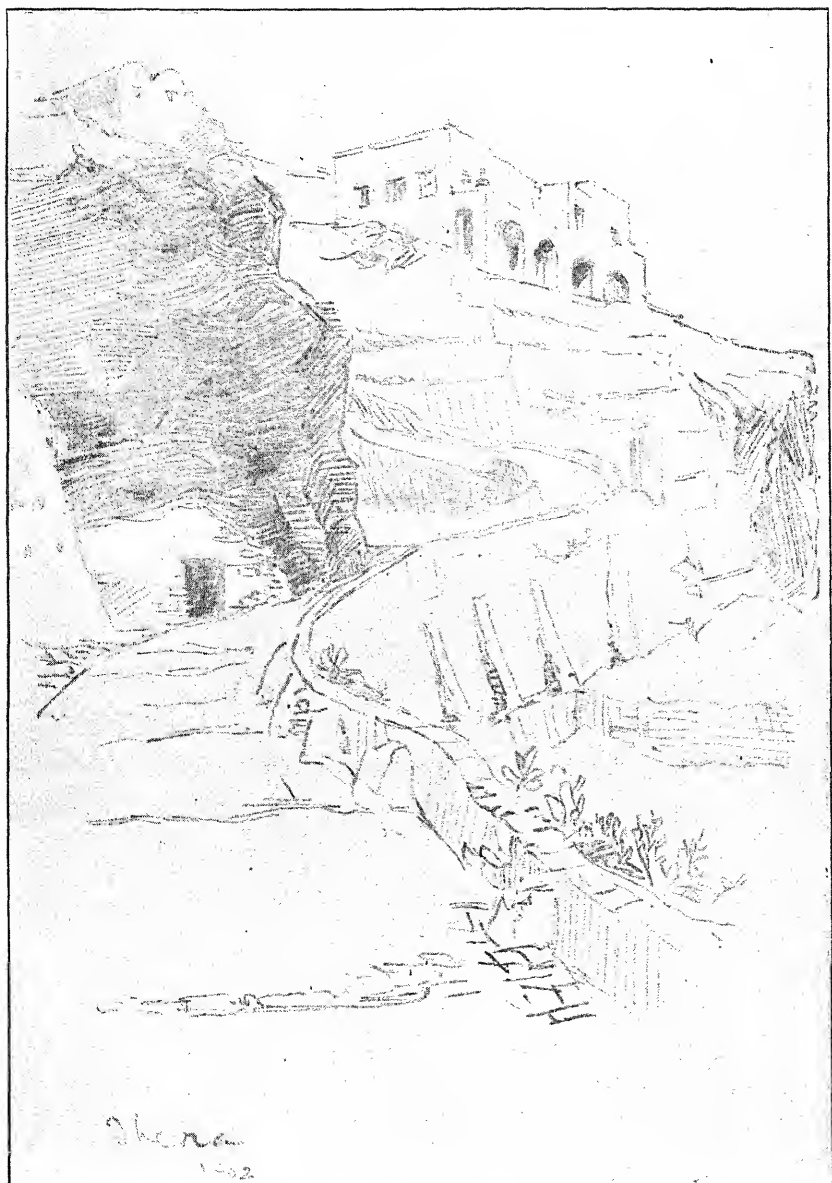
⁴ P. 25.

⁵ Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenkults*, p. 171, n. 1.

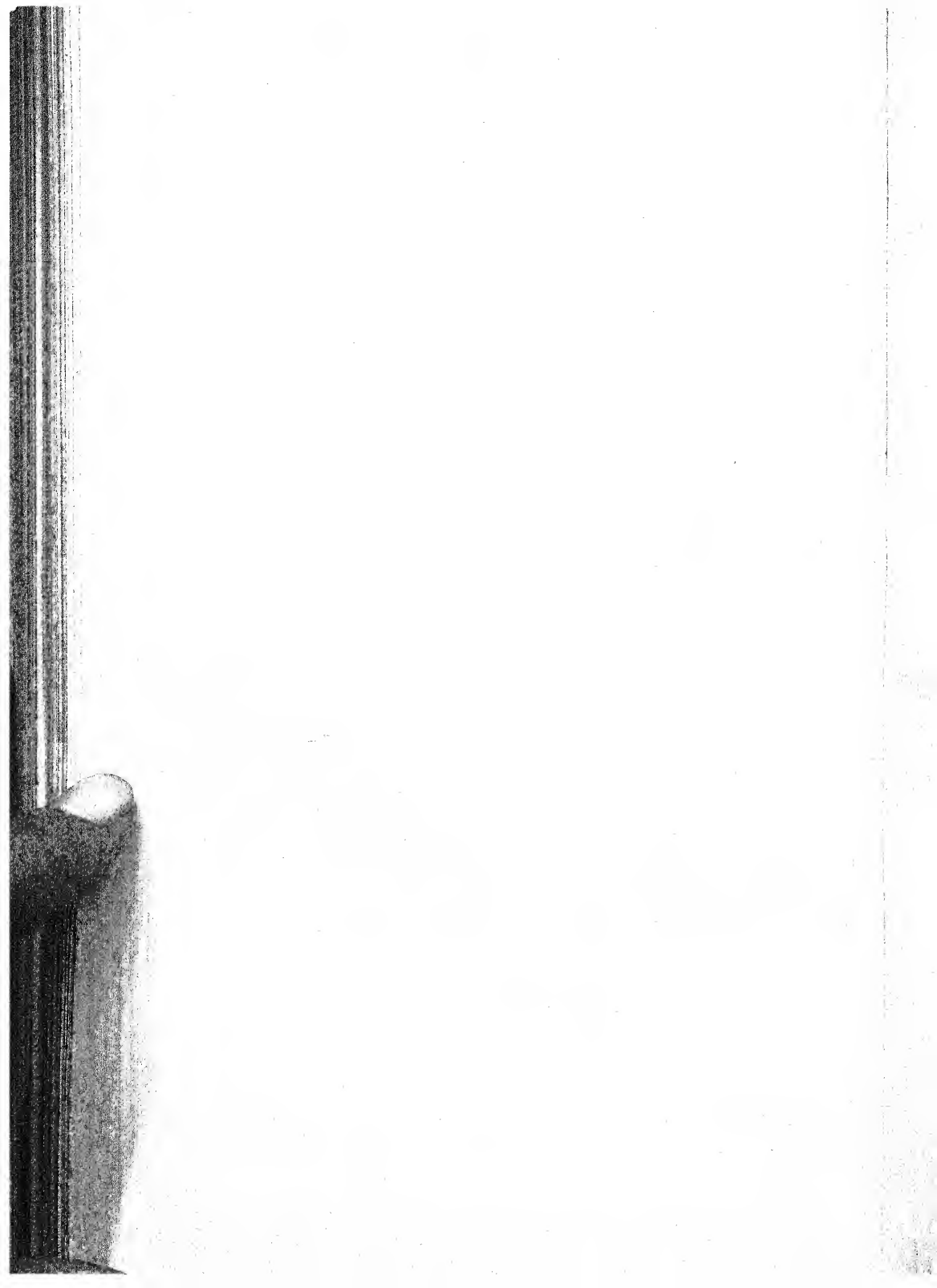
⁶ The ancient Thera.

⁷ See, however, below, p. 140.

⁸ Because it is the crater of an extinct volcano.



SANTORIN (THERA)



monti).¹ Later people call it all sorts of things, & eventually Santorini, obviously contaminated with S. Torino, has it. But what is Santellini a corruption of ???

Certain of these island names are very difficult. Do you know *Brupore*, *Bouport*² as a by-name for Amorgos? It is well attested by cartographers, but I don't suppose any one on the spot knew it by that name. For me, it is quite simply bagged from some captain's home-made chart of the island, marking some handy little bay as "bon port."³

Another useful name for sleepless nights is the mediæval name of Ithaca, *Val di Compare*, which means, as far as I know, exactly nothing, and no one, as far as I know, has done more than admire it. I suspect some fearful corruption, or again a mis-read chart; at a wild shot *Vat* [*h*] *con par* [*te della terra firma*]. Perhaps you can go one better. All these island books are, I believe, compilations from rough & partial surveys. I have found in xvii c. log-books the way they set about it. You drew a segment of a circle & having presumably established your own position by the sun, took bearings on the main objects ashore, illustrating these roughly on your horizon. Obviously the places where ships lay would get done best, and the harbours take an exaggerated importance in the charts.

I think of writing to a pupil of Duchesne's named Dufourcq, who has written a book on the *Gesta Martyrum*, of wh. one vol. is concerned with the influence of Greek *Acta*. It is probably important and decisive on many points. Interesting to note that Gregory of Tours, who acclimatised the 7 Sleepers' legend to the W., said he got it from a Syrian⁴: Greg. never went further E. than Rome, I think.

¹ Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum*, ed. Sinner (Leipzig and Berlin, 1824), p. 78.

² *Buborth*, *Brupot*, *Brupore*, *Buport* in Buondelmonti, pp. 100, 198.

³ In confirmation of this there may be cited the phrases "tre boni porti" in B.M. MS. Lansdowne 792, f. 80, and "son bonissimo porto" (*bis*) in B.M. Add. MS. 10, 365, f. 85 b.

⁴ *De Gloria Martyrum*, I, xcvi.

Montana,

10th September, 1918.

Petrocchino¹ has sent me the first (& I expect the last, or last but one) number of a *Νησιωτικὴ Ἑπετηρίς*, published in Syra by old Zerlentis mainly. There is a long article on the islands with a lot of obscure bibliography, which might come in useful some time. It is full of abuse of the Franks, & the real reason the islands got on after 1570 was, not that there was less war & piracy, but that the Frank papades were hoofed out & the Great Church of Christ, represented by Theod. Zygomalas rattling his money-box, acted as a paregoric; also somehow a revival of monastic life, a queer explanation, in the mouth of a clerical, of a notable increase in population!

He² mentions a new source (to me) for the xvi c. (but gives little idea what it is worth), a Portolano³ by a Greek of Parga,⁴ printed in Venice, of wh. there is a copy in B.M. 571, e. 3. From the title it seems to be written in the more or less popular Greek of that period & may interest you. There is a later still edition by Glykys, he says, in the Athens Nat. Lib. He does not say anything of its relation to earlier *isolarii*: these gentry cribbed each other a good deal. By the way, he quotes this same *Isolario* for the fact that there really was a ch. of S. Irene at Thera,⁵ at a place which, in the author's time, was the port for small vessels.

I have also a very jolly book, an *Itinerarium Galliae*⁶ written in the early years of the xvi by a German, apparently for the use of young swells touring to learn the language & see the sights. Several curious things come in. It is useful, e.g., to know that, if you wish to be up to date, you should not keep a unicorn's horn as an antidote against poison. I have

¹ Mr. D. P. Petrocchino.

² Zerlentis.

³ F.W.H. was much interested in early maps of the Levant: see his "Notes on MSS. in the British Museum Relating to Levant Geography and Travel" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xii (1905-6), pp. 196-215, and his "Supplementary Notes" in the following *Annual*, pp. 339-347.

⁴ A coast town of Epirus.

⁵ See above, p. 138.

⁶ Jodocus Sincerus, *Itinerarium Galliae*, Amsterdam, 1649.

besides some tips on round churches-temples out of him, and I think a miracle or two.

Did you ever read Mrs. Rd. Burton's "Inner Life of Syria"? It is a curious, on the whole rather disappointing, book. Evidently a woman of fine character, full of beans, devoted to R.B., and in ordinary life full of common sense. With all this you feel, & indeed she shows plainly, that the nun's school, where she was brought up, did their best to make a fool of her, & succeeded apparently in making her believe in charms & any kind of superstitious nonsense. Of course I don't mind a bit her baptising Burton or whatever it was. Did Burton no harm & her lots of good. But it is rather thick for an educated person to believe that a copy of the B.V.'s letter to Messina worn on the person is a charm.

Naturally the book has many interesting things in it. There is a long and detailed account¹ of a movement among a dervish sect towards Christianity, which resulted in several martyrdoms & much rowing. I remember, in Carayon a case is recorded of a dervish sheikh at Akhissar,² who was martyred with 22 disciples for Xtianity, having been converted by reading an Arabic testament. I never seriously doubted it. The "Arabic Testament" is an interesting detail, Semites (I think) take much more stock in books than we do. It is partly that they bar representations of the deity (*cf.* the Sikhs, whose book is getting on for an idol), & the sacred book becomes almost an object of adoration; partly that reading & writing, as such, are mysterious arts; and partly, as Browne³ says, that religion is so much a matter of *knowledge* with them, & the *book* is the key to it. I should hesitate much more to believe a western became a Christian through reading the Bible. But after all it is so much a matter of development. Much that we call "oriental," if it is not climatic (southern), is a stage we have been through ourselves & they have stuck in.

¹ Pp. 137-156: this part is by Sir Richard Burton.

² Carayon, *Relations Inédites de la Compagnie de Jésus*, pp. 228 ff.

³ Professor E. G. Browne.

Lausanne,¹

18th September, 1918.

I *did* get at Sabatier's *Life of St. F.* from the circulating library at Geneva, and got much good out of it. I don't think it is there he says it was a toss up whether you got damned or beatified, but it is certainly true. I read somewhere Pío IX said one of the things he was keenest to know after death was how Savonarola stood, and I have noted a R.C. saint (mystic),² who was so mad they had to lock him up, while he lived, but after his death he was canonized & could then do no harm of course. St. F. in his innocent way made a lot of scandal in his lifetime, but got canonized all right, too, of course popular pressure very much coming in. I don't suppose it *could* have been stopped in his case. Becket, again, seems to have been none too popular at Rome during life, but made a fine hero of the church after death, & a good popular bloody martyr to boot.³

Thank you about the dome⁴ texts. I knew one was exclusively used for all *mihrrabs*, the reason being that the word occurs only once in the Koran—meaning something quite different, I believe, but that is characteristic!

I don't know a word first hand about the conscription⁵ magic wheezes; it does not apparently get to anything like the Neapolitan lottery-numbers in development; of these there is a good account in Trede, *Heidenthum i.d. Rom. Kirche*, which I have lately had from the Wee Frees⁶.

I didn't know the Candia BT's had the boss⁷ in their gable; they often build in the *teslim tash*⁸ (like a biscuit with 12 bites taken out of it—by the 12 Imams!), I believe, & it is quite a good decoration, being a marble-like coloured stone.⁹

¹ The doctor having advised us to spend a couple of months on lower ground, we had left Montana for the village of Grand Mont near Lausanne.

² I am unable to trace the reference.

³ For the stimulus to canonization provided by a violent death see F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam, s.v. canonization*.

⁴ F.W.H. kept no notes of them apparently.

⁵ See above, p. 109.

⁶ The library of the Faculté de Théologie Libre at Lausanne.

⁷ See above, p. 127.

⁸ *Stone of resignation*, a Bektashi emblem.

⁹ It is of veined agate from the *tekke* of Haji Bektash in Cappadocia. Its twelve segments are supposed to represent the Twelve Imams.

Lausanne,

24th September, 1918.

The Wee Frees have sent me some books, including a rather fascinating *Lives of Limousin Saints*¹ (1672), which I wanted particularly for "release of prisoners" miracles, in which S. Leonard of Limoges is a specialist,² I imagine because Leonard in some dialect form has *lien*³ in it.

Another interesting life is that of S. Martial of Limoges,⁴ apostle of Guienne. He is identified with the child blessed by Christ, and the lad who supplied the loaves & fishes. He was sent by S. Peter into Gaul & did wondrous stunts with oracles & images, resulting in wholesale conversion.⁵ I imagine this kind of legend—there is lots of it—belongs essentially to the period succeeding the wholesale conversions of the northern barbarians, & using them anachronistically as a basis is one way of hooking on to S. Peter *and* the Palestine personnel. Similarly, S. Amadour is identified with Zacchaeus⁶ & was, I think, the husband of Veronica! In the earlier stratum missionary work is *more or less* successful, but the hero is martyred at the end under a brutal Roman governor. Base is here (pre-Constantinian) persecution period.

I think I asked you⁷ whether your edn. of Barlaam & Joasaph attributed the story to Joan. Damascenus, as I have found it under his name in a catalogue. It would go very well with S. Eustace, I think, in a series of edifying tales of *laymen* who were not martyred particularly, but led characteristic & edifying lay lives. S. Christopher would come in, S. Julian possibly, and perhaps S. Alexius. St. C. is located in Palestine, S. Alexius (Edessa &) Rome; Julian I have never seen placed. But in the whole group locality is of little consequence for the story. All this is conjecture, but I must try & see (or perhaps hear from you) what J. Damascenus is known to have done. He certainly knew Arabic.

¹ J. Collin, *Histoire Sacrée de la Vie des Saints de Limoges*, Limoges, 1672.

² See F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, chapter li.

³ *Id.*

⁴ 30th June.

⁵ Collin, *op. cit.* pp. 216 ff.

⁶ Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire des Reliques*, iii, 184.

⁷ See above, p. 65.

I have got Maury, *Légendes du Moyen Age*,¹ again to read : it is a masterpiece, full of good ideas, each note containing more than the average French article—and written in 1843 at the age of 26 !

Lausanne,

28th September, 1918.

I have struck oil & no mistake with the Wee Frees'² library. Evidently some deceased padre of theirs was keen on Palestine, & there are a number of quite good & learned works on the subject, which is very useful to me as, owing to the convergence of three religions there, it is a great centre of superstition.

I have a wonderful quarry in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*,³ full of good and most recondite things. I have dug out in some false Acta of S. John, supposed to be iv. cent, two cases of haunted baths,⁴ one haunter being an 'Αρδηνς⁵ already. Also a thing I have long been after in *Evang. Infantiae*, viz. that the Infant Christ resuscitated a salt fish.⁶ You will remember, & compare, the earlier explanation of the Balukli fishes.⁷ I have also the history of Abraham & Nimrod from a Jewish source,⁸ almost the same as the Mahom. I always thought it was Jewish in origin. It seems to start from the etymology of Nimrod, which comes from a root meaning *to rebel*.⁹ You will remember the Mos. represent Nimrod as a bad lot, the typical idolatrous tyrant & founder of the Babel building society which let so many people (including you & me) in.

¹ See above, p. 55.

² See above, p. 124, n. 1.

³ Paris, 1856-8.

⁴ Migne, ii, 767, 862.

⁵ See above, p. 56.

⁶ Migne, i, 976.

⁷ See F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v.

⁸ Migne, ii, 1102 ff.

⁹ F.W.H.'s immediate point is the origin of the story, not the soundness of this Jewish interpretation of the name Nimrod.

Lausanne,

7th October, 1918.

I am doing well here, gaining weight, & I think my occasional visits to town¹ give a "mahral uplift."

The flu² is bad again at Lausanne and they have shut the reading-room.³ Praise be, my Wee Frees are still open, & I have much interesting stuff from them. My very latest venture was a Jewish book called *Sippurim*,⁴ being a collection of Jewish stories & traditions, chiefly relating, as I found on inspection, to Prague & the middle ages, so practically no use to me. There was one curious & interesting popular account of Maimonides,⁵ in which he is represented as owing the base of his extraordinary learning to the Prophet Elias, who appeared to him in a synagogue & took him to Africa for his education as a boy. The conception of Khidr as a patron of letters has always stumped me, it goes so ill with his other activities, but is clear enough in Turkey. It is evidently part of the Jewish side, like so much else.⁶ I am always finding that the Moslem yarns based on the O.T. (there is a book G. Weil, *Biblische Legende d. Muselmänner*) are Talmud and water.

I have just now the Palestine and Egypt volume of Thévenot,⁷ which has a good few interesting things in it for me and will work in with my stuff. As regards Jerusalem he was bear-led by the Franciscans & does not give much that is new to me, & in Egypt he is of course keen on Egyptian antiquities. But had the luck to visit on Good Friday the cemetery, where the dead protruded on this date.⁸ He was sceptical, but a crowd was there & perfectly convinced of the "miracle," so much so that he didn't care to discuss it. *They* said you could see the dead bobbing up while you waited. A curious

¹ From Grand Mont to Lausanne.

² The influenza epidemic of 1918.

³ Of the Cantonal library.

⁴ W. Wiener, *Sippurim, Sammlung Jüdischer Volkssagen*, Prague, 1848.

⁵ Pp. 6 ff.

⁶ See further chapter xx of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁷ *Voyages au Levant* (Amsterdam, 1727), vol. ii.

⁸ For this barbarous miracle see F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.vv. *life in grave*.

detail is that, in spite of the date, the Moslems had adopted the miracle & had discovered apparently that one of their own saints was of the party.¹ A fine study in credulity altogether, there does not seem to have been anything to be got out of it as healing, etc., but people like believing for its own sake.

Have you ever thought about the legendary pre-Islamic Mecca with its supposed "pantheon" of idols? I do not believe myself that there was ever anywhere a "pantheon" in the conventional sense, any more than in Christianity there has been an attempt to worship all the saints & demigods & God in the same church. I think it goes back in the end to erroneous Christian opinions about the Pantheon at Rome & the reminiscence of buildings like the Mausoleum of Hadrian, or even places like public baths, which were decorated with many statues never intended as "idols" at all.²

Another "popular error" of the same sort is the identification of "idol" & "oracle." The hagiographers of a certain period really thought of the ancient place of worship as a temple containing a number of "idols," whose chief function seems to have been "giving oracles." This hangs together of course with the idea of an idol as inhabited by a demon, which the *late* Jews had (I suppose from Babylon), and the corresponding rationalistic translation of this idea—the conception of *hollow* idols, which gave sham oracles by fraudulent means. I got on to this line through Thévenot rejecting³ (on material grounds, however) the currently accepted idea that the Sphinx "gave oracles" in this way: There is, if I remember, a bronze head at Naples museum,⁴ which was, till comparatively lately, associated with this idea, for wh. I know of no evidence from antiquity; "oracles" seem, so far as I know, quite unconnected with "idols," in fact worked exactly as among Christians, i.e. by "inspired" persons, dreams, lots, & such means.

¹ *Thévenot*, ii, 459.

² See further below, pp. 233-243.

³ *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1727), ii, 425-7.

⁴ If this is not a confusion between the Parian marble heads which gave oracles at Naples (Comparetti, *Virgilio*, ii, 29) and the head of the bronze horse made by Virgil (Comparetti, ii, 39) and now in the Naples museum, I am unable to identify the head of which F.W.H. writes.

I am trying now to make a collection from as many travellers as I can, on a fairly wide basis of historical & religious folklore, not going outside Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Even if my conclusions are all wrong, there will be a useful collection of materials from a side hitherto exploited only in a very casual way. Of course I *ought* to know Hebrew, Persian, and Arabic at least for such a job, but, if I did, I could not cover the ground for one thing at all, and there are lots of people, Orientalists, who can pull me to bits and set me right. Only I don't believe they will, as few of them care about such things enough. And after all I get my amusement & if I publish ever¹, some other truffers will enjoy it & use it as a quarry.

Lausanne,

23rd October, 1918.

I have been a bad correspondent lately. Yesterday I got two letters from you, great long ones 12 and 21. ix. In reply to 2nd letter, *Deva & Div, Bhut & Pout*,² I think I bagged out of Maury,³ so don't make me responsible for the philology!

About the profession of faith, I read in some traveller that a kindly disposed Mos. population, thinking it a pity he should remain in error, repeated the P. of F. before him many times for his good⁴; perhaps he had only to hold up his finger⁵ to be forcibly perikopsed⁶?

I am not bothering Cosquin ("Contes de Lorraine," I suppose?) or any one else about sesame,⁷ as I do not find it in my line: it only occurred to me as a subtle wheeze after reading the "madjun" story.

¹ Most of this material has been inserted into the footnotes of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

² Above, p. 132.

³ Maury, *Magie et Astrologie*, p. 205.

⁴ The reference is untraceable.

⁵ Holding up the index finger is the simplest method of professing the Mohammedan faith.

⁶ *Circumcised*.

⁷ Above, p. 116.

My hanged man¹ was not *mysteriously* swapped, as you suppose, it was merely a case of a criminal with a pull somehow getting some one else hung in his stead : the trick was found out by examination of the body of the man actually hung, who was a heretic, whereas the man that ought to have been was Sunni.

About intercession of saints in practice & theory (R.C.), I am sure you are right. It is hardly true, however, still to say the B.V. is a goddess (in *theory*), as she is supposed to be a link in a chain of intercession, God being "got at" by Christ, Christ by B.V., and B.V. by people like S. Dominic ; at least this is the elaboration presented by those pestblatts Hill published.²

I have now got Gregory of Tours³ († 595) on saints. The state of things is purely "Pelagian," few Roman saints count locally at all, the B.V. never comes in, & the miracles are done by saints at their tombs. You will have the same thing in S. Martin's life.⁴ There is no trace of the use of images.

Here I am leading quite a civilised life, as well as going up in weight every week. I go in twice a week to the Wee Frees, read for an hour, & crib press-marks from the catalogue for winter, and bag 2 or 3 books to read.

I think *φουσοάρα*⁵ is Albanian all right : even if it occurs earlier, they were employed as mercenaries for several centuries.

Baring Gould's *Myths* is certainly a delightful book in its way & not pretentious : it is, I am nearly sure, a collection of magazine articles. But it seemed to me he was a good boiler & truffer without much judgment, & I dislike odium theologicum, apart from the intrinsic silliness of his remarks about the Wesleyans & Baptists⁶—I am neither of course—which were quite regardless of history.

I knew the Pentamerone man had been in Crete, but any way Naples was in touch with the Arabs of Sicily much earlier,

¹ Above, p. 131.

² *Apollo and S. Michael* (see above, p. 43, n. 3), pp. 151-2.

³ In Migne's *Patrologia Latina*.

⁴ Above, p. 88.

⁵ Above, p. 115.

⁶ Above, p. 115.

& it seems to me clear that the Virgil-mage myth,¹ developed on Oriental lines as it was, cannot be traced, in spite of Comparetti, before the conquest of Naples by Roger. I mean that Naples particularly was open to all sorts of high-class Oriental influences long before the xvi c. We are so apt to think of Syria as the E. and the Crusades as *the* period, that we overlook the fact that both Spain & Sicily were nearer, &, the latter especially, very influential at the critical period when the W. had become civilized enough to borrow from the E.

Re ultimate influence of Persian ideal in chivalry romances,² it would be very hard to prove. A certain type of Frenchman tends *naturally* in the same direction, a tremendous eye for excessive refinement in every thing. But I think the "Arabs" of Spain had it, & *ultimately* from Persian sources: of course they were not Arabs so much as N. Africans. The original Arabs seem to have contributed the initial shove of the monotheistic revival & its enormous cohesive power: but, long before they produced anything in arts way, they must have been absorbed in the hotch-potch of Syrian-Persian peoples, who handed on the old civilisation: the Arabs themselves were never civilised enough to be more than hangers on of this same civilisation.

I don't think Balukli is anything to do with a "survival" of fish worship, as I have said³: it is one of those cases where dissimilar origins lead to similar ends.

The Free Theologians are a great find; they have quantities of books on Theol. and Hist. & miscellanea, largely, I should think, bequests of deceased *ἐλευθεροπαπᾶδες*.⁴ *Inter alia*, 30 incunabula & a book of Calvin's with autograph notes for 2nd edn. But they have no money, so cannot keep up their show, as they would like. The consequence is disastrous, especially for periodicals & making up sets generally, & binding. I got there recently an article on S. George, which makes a very good case for the *only* historical St. G. being the

¹ Above, p. 96.

² See above, p. 69.

³ Cf. above, p. 144.

⁴ Adapted from *ἐλευθέρος* and *παπᾶς*.

Arian bishop of Alexandria,¹ as Gibbon said. The *Acta* in their earliest forms seem certainly based on the murder of George by the *pagans* under Julian. The details are well cooked up by the Orthodox to obscure this, & developed on quite ordinary martyrdom lines (no dragon, still less princess), except that the martyr is killed seven times. This is evidently one of the points of contact with the immortal Khidr. Masudi says George was martyred by the King of Mosul,² & one version of the *Life* makes him born at Melitene,³ a typical frontier place for the warrior side of him. At Mosul, Niebuhr remarks⁴ a tomb of *Nebi Gergis* venerated by the Mos. I am wondering what S. Sergius (Sergis) has to say. He is of course the exact counterpart of the military S. George & from the marches.⁵ He also is identified with Khidr. So now where are you?

I send you a reference from R.P. Goujon on the (no longer existing) font⁶ in the Bethlehem basilica. It is Goujon J., *Hist. et Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, Lyon 4^e, 1670, p. 273.

Lausanne,

4th November, 1918.

I had an old edition, 1546, of S. Johes Damasc. the other day, in which Barlaam & Josaphat was printed, but I saw somewhere else the attribution was now given up. I also note that an eikon spoke⁷ to S. Alessio at Edessa. I must some day grout about Edessa, which must have been a great eiconolatric place after Abgarus, very likely one of the first to go in for images.

¹ J. Friedrich's "Der Geschichtliche H. Georg" in *Sitzungsberichte der königliche Bayrischen Akademie*, 1899, II, ii (Ph.-Ph. Classe), pp. 159-203.

² Sprenger, *El Masudi's Historical Encyclopædia*, p. 128.

³ See Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 2nd Series, p. 9.

⁴ *Voyage en Arabie* (Amsterdam, 1780), ii, 291.

⁵ Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der Christlichen Kirche*, pp. 234 ff.

⁶ See above, p. 79.

⁷ See above, p. 104.

Then here is a curious thing, put together from several sources. There was a very sacred cypress somewhere in Persia, supposed to be haunted by a *dede* of sorts. It did a miracle by dripping resinous gum on Fridays (of course), which was called bleeding.¹ This clears up the idea of "bleeding" trees a bit: most that I know of are cypresses. I expect the season at which they are cut has much to do with whether they bleed or not.

Then I have come across several references to the famous cedars of Lebanon; they were considered more or less sacred, as mentioned in Scripture & compared to the Virgin. One man says the patriarch of the Maronites excommunicated persons who cut them, except a privileged few, who were allowed to make objects of piety of the wood² (a nice extension of wood tabus by the way). Is this the source of the fairly numerous cedar images (the Lucca crucifix³ is one, I think) found in various parts of Xtendom? Also, was the bleeding crucifix of *Beyrouth*⁴ (the prototype of the series) a cedar-image which bled gum?⁵ Cedar gum is, I know, reddish, as I have frequently got it on my hands climbing the cedar at home as a kid. All in the air of course but diverting, I think.

The point of my remark on S. Alessio⁶ was that his story fits into my supposed class of improving tales about lay lives made up in Syria about the eikon time. What about S. John Eleëmon? He might easily come in. I have found there is, or was, an alleged tomb of S. Julian (the Hospitable, not the Auvergne man) at Homs,⁷ whom I had already put in this Syrian group experimentally on his characteristics.

I don't know how much I have told you of my S. Croce wheeze. When I was nosing about Round Churches, I found there was one in Brittany⁸ and another in Spain⁹ with the

¹ P. della Valle, *Voyages* (Rouen, 1745), v, 355-6.

² D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 415.

³ Above, p. 108.

⁴ November 9th.

⁵ Lydia Einsler in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, x (1887), pp. 180-1, mentions a carob tree which was reputed to be haunted because its reddish wood suggested blood.

⁶ Above, p. 135.

⁷ Thévenot, *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1727), ii, 707, but see below, p. 167.

⁸ At Quimperlé, see above, p. 133.

⁹ At Segovia, see below, p. 153.

dedication Ste. Croix, which surprised me. I eventually got that the Brittany one was dodecagonal with 4 apses at the cardinal points. Then I struck near Arles¹ a (baptistry or) cemetery chapel called S. Croix en Jérusalem. It is to me certainly a cemetery chapel & throws back to the Roman S. Croce, which has Aceldama earth in it & is a good place for burynings.² The plan is a square with an apse on each side. If you draw this out, you will see that a slight alteration in the setting out of the angles makes it a dodecagon. So I think this centralised plan with 4 apses certainly goes back in each case to the old *Roman* S. Croce, which was rebuilt in the 11th and mauled since. Now, after hunting in vain for such a plan in the chapel of the Invention at Jerusalem, I find there is a Greek monastery of great antiquity & supposed of Helena's foundation $\frac{1}{2}$ hr. outside Jerusalem,³ marking the place where the olive of the cross grew. It is mentioned, I think, by Saevulf first & has a mosaic floor, so is no chicken; I cannot as yet get at the plan. I now remember, however, that the only Byz. church at Adrianople has had the 4 apse plan, though now disfigured by the addition of a shoddy nave. I am nearly sure the dedication of this is τοῦ τυμίου σταυροῦ⁴ & have note of it with rough plan (pl. 27) & a drawing (pl. 26), luckily, as I believe it is unpublished. A likely place to look for another would be the Sta. Croce in Cyprus, also associated with S. Helen. Jeffery could easily help me to this. But it is encouraging to have tied in by finding the plan & dedication in the E., as one ought, if Jerus. is the prototype, and so far it looks like working out prettily.

I have now out from the Wee Frees Carsten Niebuhr's *Reisebeschreibung*, III, which (p. 128) has Zille⁵ in it. I suppose you eventually found this? He didn't know Greek of course, so isn't much to your purpose. He notes, however, that Greeks from other parts couldn't understand your dialect, and that ordinary Zille people, especially women, spoke nothing else.

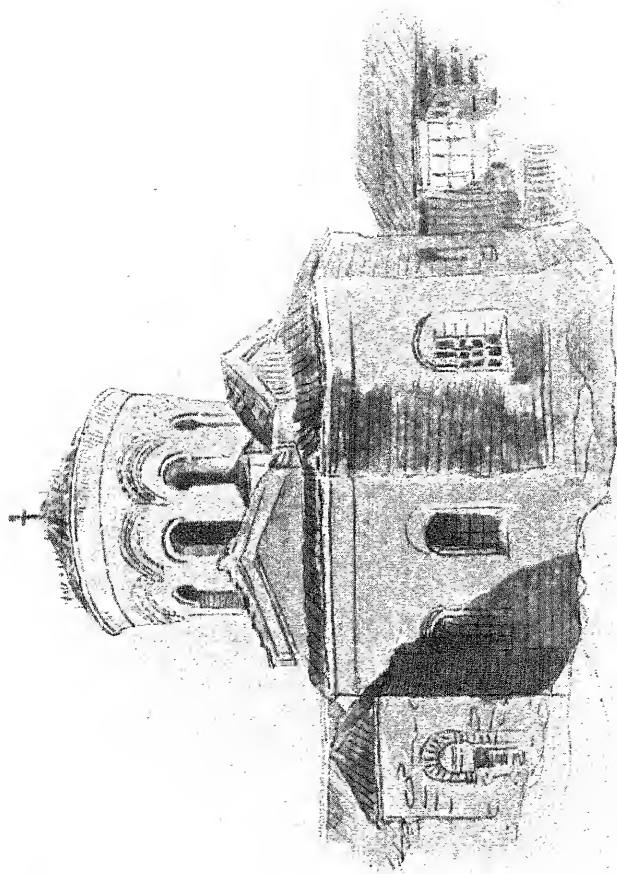
¹ At Mont-Major, see above, p. 133.

² See especially I. Burton, *Inner Life of Syria*, p. 388.

³ Thévenot, *Voyages au Levant*, ii, 644.

⁴ F.W.H.'s notebook calls it S. John the Divine, but I take this opportunity of publishing it.

⁵ A Cappadocian village studied by Professor Dawkins.



S. JOHN THE DIVINE, ADRIANOPOLE

Face p. 153

I have found at least 2 references to the demon of midday¹ in Greg. Turon. I had always thought of it as Greek & folklore, I suppose really it comes from Ps. 91.6 where we have "destruction that wasteth at noonday." The *locus classicus* for it seems to be the illustrious Du Cange his glossary of infamous Latin.

Lausanne,

9th November, 1918.

I am very well & have lots of books.

Re-reading Gregory, I was amused to find that *bishops* on election had to put their wives away as in Greece. I still think the same about incubation² there & then, though of course I am not nearly at the bottom of it yet. For your or my immediate point, sleeping in ch. being considered rather indecent in the W., I found a case in Syria of an R.C. being shocked at being put up in a Maronite (Uniate) chapel.³ But I knew it was common enough in country parts of Greece.

*Re Sta. Croce*⁴ I am no further, I think, since I last wrote, but very hopeful to find more. The Vera Cruz church at Segovia is 12-agonal, which is *so far* all right. The only indication for S. Croce of Jerus. itself is that one writer⁵ calls it cruciform, but that can probably be got at. It seems by the way (S. Helen apart!) to have been a Georgian foundation,⁶ which is interesting, as the *triapsidal* Athos type is supposed, on the evidence of the earliest monasteries Lavra (S. Athanasius being from Trebizond) & Iveron, to have come from the same part of the world—ultimately Armenia.⁷

I am not sure you are right about common people having

¹ *De Miraculis S. Martini*, III, lviii.

² See above, p. 126.

³ La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie* (Amsterdam, 1723), p. 165.

⁴ Above, pp. 151-2.

⁵ Nau, *Voyage de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1679), quoted by Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, II, 741, n. 7.

⁶ V. Guérin, *Description de la Palestine*, I, i, 81.

⁷ Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries*, p. 98, n. 1.

more sense about hell, etc. It seems to me there are credulous believers in all classes. You get, in the matter of conversion, cases of neo-martyrs (nearly all from the lower classes, by the way), who went back on Islam merely because of their hysterical fear of hell; the numbers who *didn't* re-recant of course are not mentioned, but I imagine *most* renegades didn't, & made a good thing of their conversion. I expect, however, a whole village going over together carried any wobblers with them—sort of dutch courage of the mass—and cannot be regarded in the same category with individuals. In the W. one cannot help feeling that the R.C.'s, by allowing deathbed repentances to be so efficacious, mitigated the fear of hell they stimulated by their preaching. Hard lots wd. in pressing circumstances risk a mortal sin on the sporting chance they could get absolution in time, just as the people in stories, who sold themselves to the devil, characteristically find a loophole & do him in the eye at the end. When you get down to a fairly savage state, the question is much simpler, as you say, especially if the right people led the way. This has probably counted for a lot in places like Albania¹ & Bosnia, where many chiefs converted to save their lands, I expect, & were followed by their peasantry—but not always; I believe there are Xtian Orthodox peasants with Moslem converted landlords in Herzegovina² now, and that this is the rule there.

About the 3 Mariés in Provence I can't get further, but there is a R.C. book, I believe, backing up the yarn, by one Faillon.³ *One* beginning (? or backing ?) for this legend is the Ste. Baume near Aix, a cave where M. Magdalene retired & was buried.⁴ Even in the late Middle Ages there seems to have been a tradition that this Mary was *not* M. Magdalene but a later recluse of that name—a natural one for a penitent to take of course. In another part of France I have found a cave in a mountain called Mt. Madeleine, where the inhabitant has kept her identity as S. Marie des Bois⁵ & has no pre-

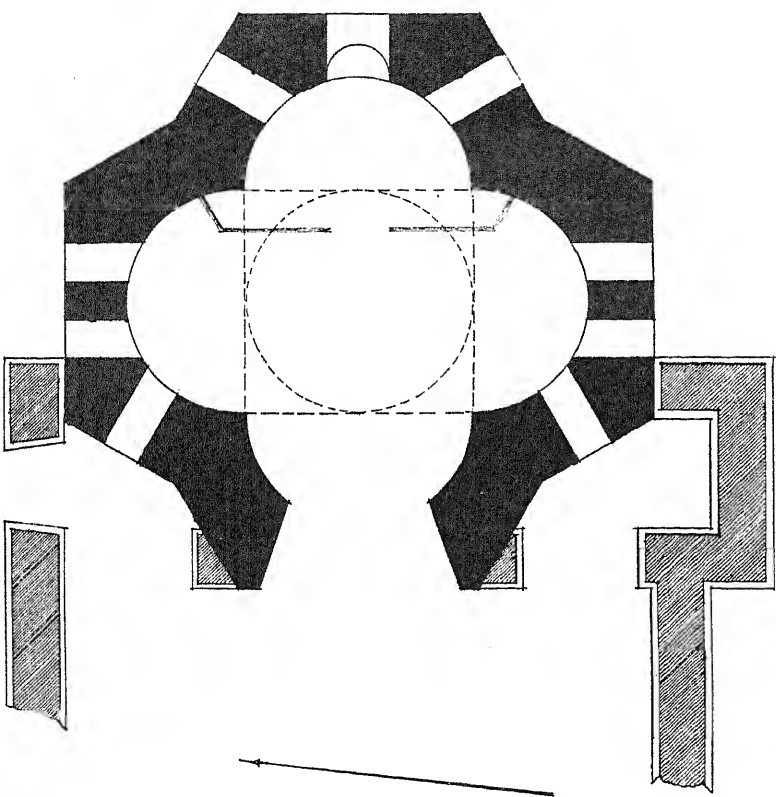
¹ On this point the fifteenth century chronicle of the Muzakia family published in Hopf's *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes Inédites* is decisive.

² See Bordeaux, *La Bosnie Populaire*, *passim*.

³ *Monuments Inédits sur Sainte Marie-Madeleine*, Paris, 1859.

⁴ Millin, *Voyage dans les Départemens du Midi*, iii, 118.

⁵ P. Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, i, 466.



PLAN OF S. JOHN THE DIVINE, ADRIANOPOLE

[Scale unknown]

Face p. 154

tensions to being biblical. It is also curious that S. Martha, who was of the party, is buried, not only at Tarascon where she downed the tarasque, but somewhere in Spain,¹ where *tarasca* seems to be the *generic* name for the dragons carried in Rogation & other religious processions. The Tarascon *treasure* is first heard of late (12th,² I think), but Tarasco seems to be the ancient name of the place all right. But, as I say, there is a mass of evidence I don't know about. A v. curious complication but I think not to count, certainly not before the Renaissance, is that *Marius* went about with a prophetess named *Martha*, a Syrian.

Did I ever tell you of a mysterious Georgius de Hungaria who was prisoner Eskishehr way in the first half of XV century? He wrote a very interesting book on the Turks, & having lived as a slave in a good country *bey's* household, evidently liked them. I have now run across him again quoted as Septemcastrensis (evidently Transylvanian Siebenburgen) by a Prot. at Zurich, who uses his account of Tk. saints in the course of an argument to prove that all Card. Bellarmin's points, shewing the R.C. was the only true faith, are equally applicable to Islam. He says Septemcastrensis was a monk, which I didn't know. But it explains his keenness & precision on the *practice* of the Tks. religion as he saw it, wh. is to me the chief interest of the book. I am printing his chapter on Turkish saints in trans.³ for my book.⁴

Lausanne,

12th November, 1918.

I have had from the W.F.'s Didron's crib of the Athos painters' handbook⁵; there are many interesting things in the notes, & he had the great luck to find the original Ἰωαννῆς

¹ At Toledo, see Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire des Reliques*, ii, 182.

² C. F. Bouche, *Histoire de Provence* (Marseilles, 1785), i, 326.

³ Translation.

⁴ See F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, chapter xli, where a footnote gives all the information which seems available on George of Hungary.

⁵ Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1845. This is an annotated translation of the Byzantine painters' guide.

painting the church of Esphigmenou.¹ He² seems to have been really good, working entirely freehand (except a compass to do halves) and very quickly, a most interesting account. D. remarks³ there are no directions in the Hdbk. for decorating porches. The reason is that, though these are called Byzantine, there *is* no old one, for the simple reason that a gate with a porch allows people to break in the gate under cover, and nearly all the existing ones are subsequent to the Revolution, as I had already made out.

He also remarks that no one could explain the little man with the *ibrik*⁴ on S. George's horse. I heard somewhere this man was a slave in Paynim lands & was carried off home by St. G., while in the act of pouring out for his lord.⁵ I think he never comes in the W., & do not remember ever to have seen the princess figured as an accessory in the E. What is your experience of this?

D. gives some interesting things, too, about texts from the Bible. He says the footprints of Christ on Mt. of Olives⁶ derive from Zech. xiv. 4 (His feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives), which may well be so, & even I should think that the Ascension was placed there on this text, it is really not indicated at all in the Gospels where it took place, & one of them pretty well implies it was Galilee.

I was also pleased to find in the Hdbk.⁷ itself "Tabor & Hermon shall rejoice in Thy name" (Ps. somewhere⁸) made a Prophecy of the Transfiguration. Tabor eventually got the credit, but still the Cedars' festival is held at Transfiguration. But the finest of all their prophetic interpretations seems to be that Zechariah prophesied that Constantine should make a bit

¹ A monastery on Mount Athos.

² Sc. Ioasaph.

³ P. 448.

⁴ Jug.

⁵ Polites, *Meletai*, ii, 798 (n. on no. 199), quoting Spratt, *Travels in Crete*, i, 345-6. Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis* (Tiguri, 1660), p. 480, says the Turks mocked at this figure pouring out wine in Greek eikons. According to Polites, *loc. cit.* the *Synaxaria* have the story.

⁶ Didron, p. 146, n. 2.

⁷ Didron, p. 142.

⁸ *Psalms*, lxxxix, 12.

for his horse out of a nail of the Cross (xiv. 20. *Erit quod in os equi ponitur sanctum Domini*).

I am getting a lot of things together about Khidr-Elias-George. The point of contact for George seems certainly that he could not be effectually killed. Hottinger has a curious extract¹ from a commentary on the Koran, which says a certain Moslem divine had a colloquy with the R.C.'s about why they worshipped Christ. They said, because He had no father; which the divine capped with Adam, no father *or* mother, etc., etc. Then *Dixerunt: sanavit caecos et leprosos. Reponit: Etiam his potior Georgius est ut qui lixatus et combustus est, postea salvus evasit.* Which is nonsense; evidently an answer & question have dropped out, and the answer, capping with George, belongs to a thesis of Christ's resurrection. As far as I see, their early notices of George go back to the Acta of George bp. of Alex.²; the dragon must have come later through iconography. Lucius has shewn it derived² in the first place from the figurative word *δράκων* used, as often, for paganism or the Devil, in another group of lives. Nowadays, the George part of Khidr seems more important than the Elias, perhaps because we have been in lands influenced more by Greek than Jewish tradition, but the S. Georges of Lydda & near Jerusalem are identified with Khidr all right.

Since I have really grasped how very foggy Moslem theology is on the historical side (John the Bapt., e.g., is done in by Ahab and Jezebel & avenged by Nebuchadnezzar!³), I despair less of being able eventually to unpick the composition of Chidr-S. George-Elias. Nothing is too silly, that is the great tip. According to one of their accounts, Mar Gergis was the son of a patriarch (or chiliarch, the Arabic word being ambiguous).⁴ Is this *batrik*, the word for patriarch, which may well represent Byz. *Πατρικιος*? It might account for the permutation of George from (Arian) bp. of Alexandria to a military officer, or help to. But I still incline to believe there was a soldier S. George on the E. frontier, before the Acta

¹ *Historia Orientalis*, p. 151.

² Quoting F. Vetter, *Der Heilige Georg* (Halle a. S. 1896), pp. lxxv ff.

³ Hottinger, pp. 145 ff.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 153.

of bp. George got currency. If the Moslems *place* Gergis, they put him at Mosul,¹ where a tomb of Nebi G., not an ordinary Khidrlik,² is still shewn.

Lausanne,

17th November, 1918.

I have had Pococke to read. I note he mentions Digenes³ as Jenis, but refuses to impart the yarns they told him ; he is in general rather too serious. He says the chapel on the summit of Ida is dedicated S. Cross⁴? Is this so? It is probably a descendant of the Cyprian, which is also, I believe, on a mountain,⁵ or hill, so it is a little like S. Michael imported from the E. & becoming a mountain-saint after his establishment in the W. at Gargano and Mt. S. Michel.

I also got hold of the *Land & the Book*,⁶ a work of great reputation in its day & I think deservedly, though I don't like the button-holy style. I didn't get much out of it, a few pointers, including a very nice piece of observation⁷ about protection of Jewish house-doors by charms written on parchment & half-buried in the stone or plaster. The texts usually chosen are *Deut.* vi. 4-9 & xi. 13-20, both of wh. end, "And thou shalt write them [my words] upon the posts of thy house": so it is quite canonical, not a mere superstition, with the Jews. It is also a contribution to the almost worship of the Book by Semites, and I hope eventually to find all the popular idol stunts performed *mutatis mutandis* by the Book.

I am after a recent paper on Shia Turks by White⁸ of Marsovan in the *Moslem World*. I don't think the paper will

¹ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie* (Amsterdam, 1780), ii, 291.

² Khidr, being immortal, has no tomb, but many *khidrliks*, places where he has appeared to men, exist.

³ *Voyages en Orient*, Neuchâtel, 1772-3, iv, 234. For Digenes see above, p. 41.

⁴ Pococke, iv, 281.

⁵ Cf. below, p. 191, n. 3.

⁶ W. McC. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, London, 1859.

⁷ P. 99.

⁸ Professor G. E. White of the American College, Marsovan.

have much new, but one never knows. I shall be interested to see the *M.W.* which seems to be enlightened and sympathetic; published in U.S.A.

Do you know G. Paris' *Légendes du Moyen Age* (posthumous)? It has a bewildering study of the later discoveries on the subject of the Wandering Jew,¹ and an Italian original for Tannhäuser's Venusberg.² Also a fine pedigree of a French *lai de l'Oiselet*,³ which comes, *via* a converted Jew, from the Arabic (I think) version of Barlaam. Altogether a good 3.50. Much on Roncevaux⁴ also that would interest you, I expect.

I have had some nice titbits out of Hahn's *Alb. Studien*. He says⁵ he could not see an alleged footprint of Marko Kraljevič (the Serbian hero) near Croia, because a tekke had been built over it. This checks perfectly with one of the alleged footprints of *Sari Saltik*,⁶ who evidently stepped into Marko's shoes (or near enough) here.

Lausanne,

21st November, 1918.

Παναγία ἐν τῷ Κοσμιδίῳ is indeed a find,⁷ & I have not the least doubt it is the explanation. Κοσμιδιον I remember vaguely as the name of a district at CP., can doubtless be verified by the works of Ducange (*why* have not the Greeks claimed him as a member of the family of Δούκας "Ἄγγελος?") Both at Naples & at Rome I expect they had eikons copied from that of a mother-church at CP. Παναγία εἰς τὸ Κοσμιδε[ο]ν makes S. Maria in Cosmedin beautifully. I note also there is

¹ Pp. 149-221.

² Pp. 138-9.

³ Pp. 225-291.

⁴ Pp. 3-63.

⁵ P. 85.

⁶ The propaganda saint of the Bektashi, for whom see pp. 203-8 of F.W.H.'s "Studies in Turkish History and Folk-Legend" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xix (1912-3).

⁷ Professor Dawkins had sent F.W.H. a reference to p. 235 of the Modern Greek translation (Marasli edition) of Schlumberger's *Épopée Byzantine*, i, 534, where a Greek church called ἡ Παναγία ἡ ἐν Κοσμιδίῳ is said to have been at Naples.

still a S. Maria di Cospoli at Naples in the quarter of Vomero,¹ but I am not sure whether she is not 'Οδηγήτρια. If you pass through, you might investigate her or at least there or in Rome get some of those little card-icons they sell for about rd, & which give at least the main features of the type. Note that 'Οδηγήτρια is said to be called indifferently Madonna "di Cospoli" or "dell'Itria."² The icons (some of them) represent, I am told, the Panagia picture being carried by monks in procession: there was a yearly miracle mentioned by Clavijo (1403)³: she got very heavy going out & very light coming back or something. The (alleged) original 'Οδηγήτρια is said to be in a convent at Pera,⁴ whence the Genoese are said to have introduced her into Sicily & Naples. It might be fun—I promise myself to do it, if I ever get to Rome again—to get a selection of these penny icons. There is the Passionists' Panagia (supposed Cretan), & one belonging to the Carmelite papades⁵—which is very good for illnesses—which I have seen in this format & seems to be a transitional Byz.-Western picture of perhaps 12th or 13th. I commend this research for a wet day in the Borgo, waiting for the Vatican to open, *vel sim.*

Nicer even than Sephar. & Arpad,⁶ I find the request of the Samaritan colonists⁷ that a priest should be sent them who knew the ways of the local God and *especially the anti-lion ritual.*

I have found a nice drawing by Baurat Schick of a +iform font in Palestine (Amwas); he says it may be as early as IV c.,

¹ Baedeker's *Southern Italy* (1903), p. 83.

² Murray's *Hand-Book of Rome* (London, 1899), p. 17.

³ In P. Mérimée, *Études sur les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 333. The image was so heavy that three or four men were necessary to carry it out, but one man, because of his descent, could carry it back.

⁴ Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Critique des Reliques*, ii, 277: J. Seville in *Notre Dame*, 1914, pp. 117-121.

⁵ *Priests.*

⁶ Professor Dawkins had written that Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 257, tells how Bardas Phokas was trying to take Aleppo and Christ appeared to him and said that the presence of a Moslem saint in the town would prevent him from capturing it. Professor Dawkins then gave the apt parallel of "Where are the gods of Sepharvaim and Arpad?" from the speech of Rab-shakeh to the Jews (*II Kings*, xviii, 34). The idea is that each side is supposed to have its own gods to look after it.

⁷ *II Kings*, xvii, 26.

but gives no reason. (*Zeitschr. d.d. Palaestinavereins*, VII, 15 f. and pl. vi). I have had 10 vols. of this¹ to truffle in from the Wee Frees & have found a lot of nice first-hand stuff about djinn-haunted baths. Baths are simply awful; if you want to be really safe, you have to say the name of God nearly all the time.² A very nice point is that this is not so for *natural* hot springs,³ even if there is a bath-house; the reason is that in this case the djinns are proprietors and it aggravates⁴ them, so that they either shut off the hot water supply or hinder your cure.

Have you ever heard of a man called Goblet d'Alviella⁵? I have had a volume of his reviews (mostly) on Hist. of Religion subjects. He is good at history (or is it I am bad?) but shaky on the archæological side, can apparently swallow anything in the symbolism line. One thing I find particularly instructive. He has a wheeze that certain images of the B.V. current in Belgium (his country) apparently conical, derive ultimately from coniform images, & eventually mere cones, in ancient Syria, which represent a Semitic goddess. He published this in Brussels, & an R.C. spoke or wrote against it. The R.C.'s points were, (1) the Church would never allow such a thing, (2) the images in question do not occur in Belgium till the Spanish domination XVI c., & represent the crinoline fashion of that period. G. d'A. is unconvinced. The anthropologist, you see, makes the usual mistake of ignoring the history of the interval between ancient Syria and the XVI c. The R.C. is not sufficiently objective to see that the real source (as I believe) of these conical Madonnas is the custom of *dressing* up images, which, having no joints, cannot be dressed properly like dolls, but are *sheathed* from the head downwards in rich, stiff stuffs like brocade.⁶ I don't know whether the custom is older, but it was certainly popularised by its adoption at Loretto, & you will notice that it is to the period of the Loretto boom that the R.C. refers the appear-

¹ *Sc.* the *Zeitschrift* of the Deutscher Palästina-verein.

² Lydia Einsler in this *Zeitschrift*, x (1887), p. 172.

³ P. 179.

⁴ *Sc.* to hear the name of God repeated.

⁵ Count E. Goblet. The book to which F.W.H. refers is not accessible to me, so that I cannot supply page references as required.

⁶ For this practice see C. Schmidt, *Sevilla* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 86.

ance of the "conical" Madonnas in Belgium. Here in Switzerland the Einsiedeln Madonna is regularly shown in the Loretto style, & people used to these draped Madonnas wouldn't recognise them in their natural state. The chapel at Einsiedeln is supposed to be the original chapel of S Meinrad (vii or viii c.) and the statue to have been his cultus image. Without its covering it seems fairly clearly rather charming provincial work of xiv, or even xv.

I know of at least one Swiss Madonna of the "conical" (so-called) type in the canton of Neuchâtel, probably influenced by Loretto via Einsiedeln. I know also of an Infant Jesus of Prague, who is also dressed in the conical fashion, probably for the reason given above. I saw this at Annecy but an image—I wd. have got an icon willingly—perhaps they are to be had at Rome, where (they do say) *omnia sunt venalia*. The upshot of all this is, that there is an opening for a non-catholic & non-anticlerical with archæological experience in these lines.

By the way, did you know that *Pliny* has the yarn about the tomb suspended between two magnets afterwards circulated about Mahom's?¹ The other elements are, I expect, badly muddled accounts of the Black Stone² (Plin. has, I think, *magnetis lapis* and all the early people confuse the Kaaba and Mahom's tomb), and I suspect of the (alleged) suspended rock of the Mosque of Omar.³ The Pliny source I got out of Bayle's Dict. Historique.⁴ I discovered (or rather, Hill showed me) the use of out-of-date encyclopædias, while doing the Lemnian earth⁵: it is an inexpensive way of getting a bibliography of forgotten sources on revived subjects. You suppress the encyclopædia's name of course, & only cite its sources—as if you had read them all through when you were a boy. This must go into the Truffler's Guide eventually for (posthumous !) publication.

¹ Cf. Fabri, *Evagatorium*, ed. Hassler, ii, 472.

² At Mecca.

³ Cf. Conder, *Jerusalem*, p. 254. Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, ii, 162) mentions the story as current in Europe but not in the Hejaz or elsewhere in the East. With this compare, however, Gregorovius, *Wanderjahre*, iii 114, who gives Ibn Haukal's account of Aristotle's suspended tomb at Palermo.

⁴ *S.v. Mahomet*.

⁵ "Terra Lemnia" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xvi (1909-10).

Lausanne,

28th November, 1918.

I have found some very good stuff in the Syrian volume of d'Arvieux¹ for my Transferences² eventually. I had kept pretty clear of Syria so far, because it meant a huge bibliography, largely unknown to me & inaccessible in Athens, and all questions are much complicated on the religious side. Now I have all this time I shall try & tackle it, along with certain other things in the same bibliography, and get out at least a fairly elaborate appendix on Syria & Palestine.³ The beauty of d'Arvieux is that he was a good Arabic scholar, & consequently the literate Moslems got on well with him & enjoyed his conversation, so he got things on the M. side the ordinary person, bear-led by the Franciscans, did not. Among the interesting things are a long account of the recent transference of the Beyrout ch. of S. George from the Greeks to Mosl. by a renegade Pasha,⁴ who wanted a reputation for zeal, & a very fine miraculous history of another Beyrout ch., alleged *still* to contain *the* miraculous bleeding crucifix,⁵ which could not be got out, because, if you tried to get it, you went blind, etc., etc.

I have got the *Moslem World*,⁶ both White's article & the other. White's is, as usual, rather vague (he is American, prof. at Marsovan) & nothing new. The other is a most interesting first-hand account of the course of instruction & initiation gone through by certain dervishes.⁷ The paper M.W. is very interesting, and I think to subscribe after the war, only 6/- a year, & might put me in touch with interesting & interested people. It is good enough for Margoliouth⁸ to write for, though naturally the standard is not that high.

* *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, Paris, 1735, vol. ii.

* From Christianity to Islam, now Part I of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

* F.W.H. neither did this appendix nor left enough notes for me to work up. I have, however, inserted such information as he had collected into the footnotes of his *Christianity and Islam*.

* D'Arvieux, ii, 273.

* D'Arvieux, ii, 346 ff.

* Cf. above, pp. 158-9.

* Rev. J. Tackle, "The Approach to Moslem Mysticism" in *Moslem World*, vii (1918), pp. 249-258.

* Professor D. S. Margoliouth.

I was interested to find the other day that the bridge *es-Sirath*, which has to be crossed by candidates for paradise, is *canonical*,¹ not just popular superstition. Now I find that the text, "Lead us in the straight way," in the *Fatiha*² uses this word "sirath" for "way," & that the word may be interpreted path or *bridge*. So the idea has probably been worked up from there, just as so many Xtian. ideas derive ultimately from far-fetched interpretations, of difficult passages particularly. The Jews were of course great³ on it before us.

Leysin,⁴

9th December, 1918.

A number of small things occur to me that might amuse you. I seem to recollect *S. Maria in Cosmedin* at Ravenna⁵: isn't it the ex-Arian Baptistry?

Maury says,⁶ very acutely, that all the rag festivals of the church like the Feast of the Ass occur during Christmas festivities, which replace Saturnalia. So far as I know, the Greeks have nothing of the sort.

I send you, as you know, all sorts of things that occur to me for fun & to get your comments. The other day it occurred to me to wonder whether there was any connection between the (unique,⁷ as far as I know) octagonal design of the Sakhra & the octagonal church of the Ascension. The Sakhra was of course the site of Moh.'s Ascension,⁸ and the Xtians. said the Mosl. had removed one of the footprints of

¹ Gairdner in *Moslem World*, ii (1912), p. 167.

² The opening chapter of the Koran.

³ Cf. the fanciful identification of Adam's grave at Kirjath Arba (Hebron) in Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, p. 242 : cf. p. 415, n.

⁴ At the beginning of December we left Lausanne for a sanatorium at Leysin.

⁵ Baedeker, *Northern Italy* (1899), p. 370.

⁶ *Magie et Astrologie*, p. 160, n. 3.

⁷ *i.e.* in Moslem buildings.

⁸ Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, p. 254.

Christ from the Ascension Church & put it in the Sakhra.¹ Funnier still, I find in xvii c. mention of 2 columns on the Sakhra which you had to pass between.² You will remember Willibald³ is the first to mention this, and in the Ascension church.

I begin to suspect that the "Palace of Balkis," a name they give to certain ruins at Cyzicus, Aspendus, & I have no doubt elsewhere,⁴ is evolved from Jewish elaboration of the Bible text. They start with the House of the Forest of Lebanon, 1 Kgs. vii. 2, which is obviously in the text a house at Jerusalem built largely of cedar-wood. But the Jews said it was *Baalbek* on II Chron. viii. 11, "Solomon brought up the daughter of Pharaoh *out of the City of David* unto the house he had built for her." So you have a prominent ruin associated with a foreign princess, wife of Solomon already, & the substitution of Balkis is quite simple. Indeed, I should not be surprised to find that Baalbek is the original palace of Balkis, too. The same ruins come in on the Xtian. (Gk.) ticket as the Palace of S. Barbara's⁵ father, I think, the round temple figuring as the tower where he locked her up. This comes from the mention of Heliopolis (Egypt) in the legend & some quidnunc discovered Baalbek also was Heliopolis.

A propos of our old friend S. George, I note that in the specifically Christian legend he has no real combat at all. He merely subdues the dragon and gives it over to the princess to lead away, afterwards killing it, as any butcher might. The only place I can find, where the *combat* is seriously located, is Beyrout. It is funny that Lydda, so near Joppa & Perseus, should not be the place, if these things happen in the orderly manner assumed by some of our wise men. As a matter of fact, you cannot guess a bit along these lines the

¹ Tobler, *Siloahquelle*, p. 110.

² Brother Eugène Roger (1653), quoted by Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem*, ii, 376; also D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 210 f.

³ 723 A.D. See p. 69 of F.W.H.'s "Columns of Ordeal" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxiv (1919-21).

⁴ For references and the form Balkis see the end of chapter lix of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁵ La Roque, *Voyage de Syrie* (Amsterdam, 1723), i, 124.

wherefore of such things. I note also that the dragon legend does not go very well with the possession of an alleged tomb of the saint—if logic has ever counted. I believe Beyrout claims both.¹

Leysin,

16th December, 1918.

What you say about history is sadly true ; there is not the least evidence that liars were less frequent in any recorded good old times, rather the reverse if anything.

What do you think of work like Hawes's measuring of Cretan heads ?² I think it impresses people quite a lot as very "scientific." There are some good words and columns of figures, so they think it *must* be all right : it is also dull reading, which finally convinces them. But is any result at all really attained by statistics on so narrow a base ? I don't think so myself. N.B.—I am very fond of Hawes, and he seems to me a good man.

There is quite a lot to show that transportation of populations was in full swing under the Turks, particularly in the xvi c. I imagine the country round CP. & Brusa particularly had been fought over so much that the wretched inhabitants had all left for heaven or elsewhere, and, when things were more settled, the Sultans needed a peasantry to fill up and brought them from the rougher parts as colonists or prisoners. There are a lot of European villages round Brusa, as you know, & Thrace & Macedonia seem to have had their quota of Albanians, Bulgars, & Serbs.³ There seems to have been a considerable deportation of Armenians from the frontier by both Persians (New Julfa⁴) and Turks : I think the Ada Bazar⁵ colony dates from early xvi, and New

¹ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 382.

² See, e.g. C. H. Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants ?" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xvi (1909-10), pp. 258-280.

³ Cf. Belon, *Observations de Plusieurs Singularités*, Antwerp, 1555, p. 319.

⁴ Murray's *Hand-Book for Asia Minor* (London, 1895), p. 340.

⁵ I can give no reference for this.

Julfa from the early xvii only.¹ They of course had their church to keep them together, otherwise I suppose they would not be distinguishable now.

Thank you for note on Barlaam & Joasaph.² I would rather, if anything, it was not earlier than J. Damascenus. I looked up S. Julian the other day in *Acta SS*.³ You remember a stag (à propos of nothing) warns him that he will be the murderer of his parents? It was the old edition of *Acta SS* (that remarkable work appears to have started under the original Père Bolland in 1643), but they could find no trace of the legend before the Golden Legend, i.e. well after the Crusades. There is no localisation and a good deal of incident, stag warning, J. leaves home & goes soldiering, kills parents by mistake, penitent devotes himself to good works as ferryman & innkeeper, and eventually, I think, ferries Christ. At present I do not see its bearing, but it looks, as I said, to be an improving novel of a lay life, neither churchman, ascetic, nor martyr. The stag is used quite differently in Eustace & Hubert,⁴ which are evidently connected, as they had many Eustace relics in the Hubert district & it was forest country. I think I told you there is, or was, a tomb of S. Julian at Homs,⁵ not likely to have been imported from the W., I think, but I don't know if Julian is in the Synaxarion.⁶ There are two Julians, I think, in the Western *Acta*, one patron of Le Mans⁷ & the other of Auvergne,⁸ but fairly authentic & early. I find your friend Alexius⁹ comes into the eiconodulic series, as a picture, I think at Edessa, spoke to him. Edessa must always, one would think, have been a great place, if not the earliest also, for eikons after the Abgarus yarn.¹⁰

¹ From 1604 (Murray, *loc. cit.*).

² Professor Dawkins had written that the Loeb edition had supported the attribution of "Barlaam and Joasaph" to John of Damascus.

³ 12th Feb. This is S. Julian of Auvergne.

⁴ See above, p. 117.

⁵ Above, p. 151. This seems more probably to be S. Julian of Antioch, the husband of S. Basilissa, for whom see *Synaxarion*, 8th Jan. and *Acta SS*, 9th Jan.

⁶ Apparently not.

⁷ 27th January.

⁸ See above, n. 5.

⁹ 17th July.

¹⁰ Ludolf, *De Itinere Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 62.

Did you know J. Damascenus was associated with the Π. Τριχερούσα picture at Chilandari?¹ It appears some eiconoclasts cut off his hand: he applied the stump to the picture and a new one grew. He seems also to be connected with the picture of the B.V. near Damascus,² which came to life half-way down & is, I believe, still preserved, though, for very good reasons, never shown.

There is a book by a R.P. on the B.V.³ in Lebanon, wh. I should like to see, but it seems big and probably costs—still you never know, these magnificent pi. works are often cheaper than you wd. think, I suppose they are given as prizes.

I am making rather bad weather of G. Paris, *Hist. Poétique de Charlemagne*, there are such masses of things mentioned that are quite new to me, & really it is a book of reference, whereas I am still in the vulgarisation stage.

I am getting a life of Buddha from the Wee Frees in the hope of enlightenment on super-stags. I seem to remember that B. retired to a deer-park near Benares, & Buddhist stuff is full of yarns about talking (& moralising) animals, many of which, I believe, turn out to be "the Lord Himself."

Leysin,

19th December, 1918.

Winter has come upon us suddenly, you almost heard the click: the cat & I hate it.

I have got from Geneva several of those nice, if a little loose, little books on folklore published in France in the series "Littératures Populaires" & "Contes et Chansons Populaires"; they include *Trad. pop. de l'Asie Mineure*⁴ which we had at the School.⁵ In it did you ever notice (p. 78) a curious variant of the dying dragon's appeal? "If you are a

¹ Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries*, p. 144, n. 1.

² J. L. Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, p. 130.

³ I cannot identify this book.

⁴ By Carnoy and Nicolaides.

⁵ British School, Athens.

man, hit me again." The reply is as usual, "My mother bore me once," but the dragon, being well posted in theology, retorts, "But by baptism you have been born a second time."

I also happened in Hahn¹ on the Albanian idea of a *dev's* job, which is to heat up in a cauldron the water required for hot springs next day. I remember they are often busy with cauldrons in your Cappadog. stories and in Kunos.

I think von Hahn's classification & description of the various ghosts² in Albania is interesting but probably too exact. Nearly all the words for ghosts are meaningless in themselves ("Arab"³ is the only one that gives a picture), so I think the conception remains vague *in default of iconography* by which really our ideas of the devil, fairies, and saints, too, very largely are made precise. I expect Hahn badgered his informant, who produced a classification answering at best to his own mental conception, if not improved. Lawson⁴ always thought, if you could get a Greek kid to draw his conception of a *καλλικάντζαρος*⁵ it wd. be a centaur: but there is no iconography of k.'s & when the cartoon of Venizelos & the K.⁶ came out, they simply borrowed and reduced the devil type, perh. a touch of spider.

There is really a curious similarity between the influence of literature (oral literature) on folklore & the influence of iconography on popular hagiology. Lately I have found in Schischmanoff's *Lég. Relig. Bulgares* some very curious illustrations of stories & ideas derived from the people from misunderstood images.

(1) Herodias threw John the Baptist's head away *and he grew a new one*⁷: I think there is an orthodox type showing the *Baptist with a head on* and holding his own head (No. 1) on a plate.

¹ *Albanesische Studien*, i, 162.

² *Id.* i, 161-4.

³ See above, p. 56.

⁴ Mr. J. C. Lawson, who wrote *Modern Greek Folklore*.

⁵ The *kallikantzari* are bogeys of Modern Greece. Mr. Lawson, without much warrant, believes they are survivals of ancient centaurs.

⁶ King Constantine was represented as S. George and Venizelos as a *Καλλικάντζαρος* in a Modern Greek cartoon which appeared at the height of the controversy between the two men.

⁷ Schischmanoff, p. 100. The 2-headed type is fairly common in Greek *eikons*.

(2) Another legend represents Adam as having sold himself and descendants to the Devil¹; when Christ descended into hell, the contract was broken & Adam delivered. The contract was written in Adam's blood on a slab of marble. This slab of marble I take to be the broken "gates of hell" in the *old* Anastasis type.² They are nearly always figured on the strength of the text, "He hath broken the gates of brass," which was re-used in *Évang. Nicodemi*. Another version says³ the contract was broken at Christ's baptism, when He stood on the stone it was written on. I believe you will find in Byz. icons that Christ *does* stand on a stone of some peculiar form at the Baptism. Up to the present, I don't understand what this stone really means.

In the Coptic legends of Amélineau I hoped to find, & found,⁴ the Coptic legend of S. George, and, as I expected, no dragon, only the persecuting king is called more than once a "dragon,"⁵ as who should say "monster." This has been shewn by Lucius to have been the beginning of the dragon,⁶ or one beginning. In the miracles of S. George, published by A. from Coptic sources not later probably than vii c., Diospolis-Lydda⁷ seems to be the only cultus centre of S. George known to the Egyptians at this date. Later, they claimed to have his head at Lydda,⁸ and there were reputed graves at Old Cairo,⁹ Beyrout,¹⁰ and Mosul¹¹, the latter being the site of his martyrdom according to the Moslems. In the Coptic *Acta* George opposes a "magician" called Athanasius¹²; he is of course in disguise the Arian bishop's great opponent! as has before been pointed out. It is wonderful that they have left the name¹³ in without change.

¹ *Id.* p. 47.

² See above, p. 54.

³ Schischmanoff, p. 51.

⁴ *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, ii, 167 ff.

⁵ ii, 171.

⁶ Cf. above, p. 157.

⁷ *Contes*, ii, 217.

⁸ Ludolf, *De Itinere Terra Sanctæ*, p. 50.

⁹ I find no mention of his grave but only of his arm in the convent of S. George, Old Cairo.

¹⁰ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, 382.

¹¹ *Id.* ii, 291.

¹² Amélineau, *loc. cit.*

¹³ *Sc.* of Athanasius.

I have also Ludolf of Suchem, said to be the best of the xiv cent. pilgrims. He is quite convinced that the Dome of the Rock is Solomon's temple rebuilt in its old form with its old materials.¹

Tell me when you write whether churches dedicated Σωτήρος and Παντοκράτορος have the same or separate feast days. I think Soterios² feasts Metamorphosis, what feasts Ascension?³

P.S. A funny thing from the Bulgar book will make the letter more worth sending. There is a fairly elaborate History of the Cross,⁴ on the lines of the Book of Seth, I think it is. At the end comes the story of Constantine's conversion but not, as in the canonical legend, by the substitution of baptism for a bath of children's blood as cure for leprosy. According to the Bulgars, he had wounds which would not heal, the Xtian children's blood was proposed, but the cross ultimately healed him. This is interesting, because in the Talmudic prototype Pharaoh suffered from incurable wounds & his physicians proposed Jewish children's blood as cure—and this, I find from one of my Lausanne discoveries, is used by the Syrian Greeks as evidence of the Jews' belief in children's blood for the ritual murder.⁵ Well, in the Bulgar version,⁶ when the True Cross was divided up for distribution, the sawdust mixed with gold and silver was made by Constantine into coins bearing his effigy & Helen's with the Cross; these coins were presented to the children it had been proposed to kill, and they are to this day specially potent for children's diseases, water being drunk out of the (scyphate) coins.

This shows clearly enough that my conjecture about the essential "Constantinata" in Ridgeway's Festschrift⁷ was right. The scyphate coins date of course from the Comneni only, but the supposed Const. & Helen type goes back a bit

¹ *De Itinere Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 75.

² The Saviour.

³ Nothing according to my Greek informants.

⁴ Schischmanoff, pp. 70 ff.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 61.

⁶ Schischmanoff, pp. 74-5.

⁷ In F.W.H.'s opinion these are certain Byzantine *solidi* of the ninth and tenth centuries, which show Constantine and Helen flanking the True Cross (*Ridgeway Essays*, p. 636).

earlier, & one of Politis' pupils (whom you know, I forget his name) told me, he had an MS. passage showing that the earliest of the type I could find was early considered a coin of Const. & Helen.¹ I found in another book that in Crete Helen was said to have run short of money & to have made leather coins which turned to gold²: I suppose the scyphate *solidi*, which are often cracked at the edges, suggested buttons or something habitually made out of leather. Anyway, the second edn. of "Constantinata"³ will be more amusing for these additions.

The Dr. has been to-day & finds I am, if anything, better, but, having too much temperature, must keep in bed a day or two & not go out. The weather being perfectly vile, it is no loss, & I have lots of books.

I have been finding in Syria a good many cases of the (Christian) place, which Turks cannot stay in, or die, if they enter. This is familiar from "Transferences"⁴ as one of the ways in which a converted church can be "unlucky." But in Syria it is applied not only to buildings but to villages. Such & such a village is inhabited *only* by Xtians. Turks *cannot* live there. The antagonism of creeds and the sharp antithesis between the *right* religion & the *wrong* one is, I think, Christian, not ancient. In antiquity it is represented by the distinction between (1) persons in a state of ritual purity and people not, and (2) initiated & uninitiated, which includes physical, moral, & intellectual preparation in the idea of purity or fitness for participation. I saw somewhere (Ludolf⁵) that the letter of Christ to Abgarus, kept of course at Edessa, had the property of rendering the city uninhabitable to pagans & heretics. I should not be surprised if this is the direct ancestor of the whole group of Xtian. superstitions of this sort. Edessa seems to have had a great deal of religious imagination, & you are constantly tracking things back there. Of course it was in a fine situation geographically, and the antiquity of Christianity there must have given its yarns

¹ See above, p. 17.

² Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban* (Paris, 1675), p. 18.

³ This was not left in a sufficiently advanced condition to be written up.

⁴ Part I of F. W. H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁵ *De Itinere Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 62.

a fine vogue. Once in Syria, any religious yarn might go all over Xtendom and many did.

I have got a Bulgarian yarn about S. Alexius,¹ fairly stupid. I don't know if it interests you: it is the original tale very much depraved & of course no mention of Rome or indeed of anywhere else.

I noticed a funny thing in a book on Mesopotamia² the other day. A man went to Sergiopolis, now ruined but in its day very famous for the reasons implied by its name. The walls still stand, and the stone of which they are built is full of mica, which glitters in the sun. His escort, when they saw them, said admiringly, "It is all *mirrors*." I must look & see if S. Sergius ran anything in the magic mirror way, the mirror *destructive to the enemy*, like the ones³ in the Pharos and (supposed to have been) at Rome, I think. Isn't there, too, a city of mirrors in the Arabian Nights, corresponding to the City of Brass?

Leysin,

28th December, 1918.

Re Pantheons, your late Icelanders⁴ are curiously paralleled by a learned Benedictine⁵ in the 18th c., who describes a very interesting early church (demolished shortly afterwards) at Toulouse. The apse, which he takes for the surviving half of a decagonal temple, had a series of mosaics in niches; the mosaics were Christian, but he says the niches shew that originally a number of gods were worshipped there. This is, of course, partly the Pantheon influence, as I have, I think, remarked before.⁶ It had not occurred to me till now that the (conventional) Pantheon has the theological point of *shewing*

¹ Schischmanoff, p. 132.

² L. Cahun, *Excursions sur les Bords de l'Euphrate*, p. 188.

³ See below, p. 193.

⁴ Professor Dawkins had written that Icelandic sagas of the fourteenth century describe a heathen temple as having an apse with statues of the gods round it.

⁵ Dom Jacques Martin, *La Religion des Gaulois*, i, 139.

⁶ Above, p. 146.

up *polytheism*, a point Christians, and still more Moslems, would enjoy bringing out—you will remember pre-Islamic Mecca is thought of as a great assembly of idols.¹

The other "conventional" point in Christian representations of heathenism, and I think Moslem, too, is the extreme importance of the statues as *oracles*. The influence here is, I take it, mainly O.T., "enquiring of the Lord" being so very important in Judaism: I note also that, if for any reason this was thought impracticable, a heathen idol (the "god of Ekron," e.g.) was resorted to for the same purpose. But I believe the yarn about Apollo scratching at the Nativity is as old as Eusebius at least, so classical antiquity has something to say in the matter. This figures in the legend of S. Somebody of Toulouse²; as he passed "the temple," all the "oracles" stopped talking.

The other great motif, idols falling down before a saint, derives, I think, again from O.T. (ark among the Philistines and Dagon), Apocrypha (Bel & the Dragon), and *Evang. Infantia*, where the falling down of the idols of Egypt before the Infant Christ³ is evolved *directly* from a passage in Isaiah (xix. 1). The falling down of the idol is directly connected with the exit at the double of the inhabiting spirit, though I doubt if the Jews had the idea before the Captivity. It is really a deep & philosophical idea, reconciling the conception of an idol as a man-made thing & therefore powerless & as a god absurd, with the conviction that heathen gods were not really powerless but powerful for evil,⁴ though, when it came to a competition between them & the divine power granted to a saint, they were shewn up.

I have a pleasant note or two out of a Life of Joseph from

¹ See below, p. 241, n. 5.

² S. Sernin: 29th November.

³ See Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, i, 1078. Cf. Fabri (1482) who says (*Evagatorium*, iii, 50) that Jeremiah had prophesied to the kings of Egypt that a virgin should bear a child. A statue of the Virgin Mary was then made and secreted in a temple, Ptolemy being informed by the priests what it portended. The passage in Jeremiah, to which this garbled story refers, is chapter xliii, 11-3. In his *Evagatorium*, iii, 187-8, Fabri adds that at the coming of the Holy Family to Egypt all the temples, except those of the Virgin, the Pelican, and Fire, fell. The phoenix which had appeared in the Temple of Fire, and the pelican, were considered emblems of Christ.

⁴ This is developed *passim* in Part I of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

Mahom. sources.¹ *Inter alia*, when Joseph is disposed of,² the brothers tell Jacob a wolf has got him. Jacob replies, "Produce the Wolf," & the brothers catch one & say that is it. But the Wolf declares on his word of honour to Jacob it is a put-up job. This, I take it, is the prototype of a similar miracle told of H. Bektash³ and a saint named Zimbilli something⁴; I doubt not, of others also: such a little goes such a long way in hagiology.

Leysin.

9th January, 1919.

I have not written a long time, as I have lost for the time being half a sheet I intended for you, & have been rather off owing to bad weather & kept in bed. But it can't last much longer. Also, since my last I have had no particularly juicy books.

I have a rather nice Egyptian Coptic Version of the Solomon & Balkis legend in Amélineau,⁵ which introduces the episode of the temple-building & the worm Shamir: only, it *isn't* the worm Shamir,⁶ but a bit of wood from Paradise that is brought by the bird⁷ to liberate its youngster. Sol. keeps this wood & eventually it turns Balkis's *goatsfoot* (variation of the *hairy leg* story) into a human one, & is spoken of after as the "wood that changes the nature of things." This is evidently the wood used for alchemy in "Hassan of Basra,"⁸ which is mentioned *along with* the gold plant.

¹ Spiro, *L'Histoire de Joseph selon la Tradition Musulmane*, Lausanne and Paris, 1907.

² P. 39.

³ Cholet, *Arménie*, pp. 40 f.

⁴ Of Ali (Zumbullu) Effendi at Tokat: see Carnoy and Nicolaidès, *Folklore de Constantinople*, pp. 183 ff. The full story of Ali Zumbullu is given in chapter xviii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

⁵ *Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne*, i, 146-9.

⁶ As in the Jewish story, for which see Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 2nd series, pp. 121 ff.

⁷ By the *rokk*.

⁸ Lane, *Thousand and one Nights* (London, 1895), p. 341.

I have also at least one good pointer out of the Coptic Life of S. George.¹ He met his death at the orders of the wicked Persian King at *Sar*, the city of Nebuchadnezzar, which he (N.) abandoned, when he built Babylon. This helps account for the Moslem legend of S. George putting his death at Mosul (Nineveh), where there is still a tomb.² On the other hand the author evidently thinks *Sar* is on the sea (Tyre ?), and they embark S. G.'s body there, en route for Diospolis—Lydda, via Joppa. On the whole, the Coptic Legends are rather heavy, I find, though interesting evidently to those who know Egyptian ways.

I am after F. Fabri's pilgrimage³ from the Wee Frees, and Schnudi, for some references. He⁴ may be more interesting for himself, I do not know anything about him. I know there will be heaps of things in Fabri, I think something about passing through columns at Jerusalem. By the way, de Vogüé⁵ gives an amusing picture of fat Turkish effendis sticking on the way & feeing the clerics to say they hadn't; apparently it was allowable to be pulled or pushed!

I heard from Mrs. Strong, there seems so far to be nothing in Rome to support my S. Cross wheeze,⁶ but I have written to Jeffery.

Leysin,

15th January, 1919.

I have from Geneva a curious book on Islam⁷ with a very interesting appendix on Islam as conceived of by the mediæval W., with the documents quoted. They thought of it as a more extravagant paganism with many idols; the chief idol was

¹ Amélineau, ii, 205-6.

² See above, p. 158.

³ *Evagatorium*, ed. Hassler, Stuttgart, 1843.

⁴ Sc. Schnudi: F.W.H., however, made no extracts from the account given of him by Amélineau, *Les Moines Egyptiens*, i.

⁵ *Syrie, Palestine, Mont Athos*, pp. 202 f.

⁶ See above, p. 133.

⁷ H. de Castries, *L'Islam*, Paris, 1896.

called Mahom. and used as an oracle, a devil inhabiting it for this purpose.¹

A man was signalled in *Times* as writing on the Master & Apprentice story in *Folklore*,² so I sent him three Greek refs.³ in case he hadn't them, and he was much obliged and sent me the paper. He mixed up two things, I think, and of the true yarn offers nothing out of France & Engd. *as yet*. To me it is essential that there should be *two* masterpieces, the very fine & the still finer. He groups with them a lot of yarns about a masterpiece the artist proposed to repeat & improve for some one else, & was put out of the way by the owner of the original. This, to me, lays emphasis on the *unique* character of the building, etc., in question, the comparison does not come in, whereas in the Master & Apprentice it is the point.

Felix Fabri has not turned out so racy as I hoped, rather an old bore, but interesting things of course. A man in his crowd deliberately "merdavit" a mosque,⁴ taking advantage of a hole in the roof. They evidently thought it a jolly good way of scoring off the paynim (he alone of his party disapproved), till they got into trouble over it. The paynim, on the other hand, if they saw pilgrims frequenting and kissing any particular stone, used to "merdare" the stone,⁵ so both sides were much of a muchness. It interests me as "merding" mosques is used as a motif for a rather base series of folktales, wh. I have had my eye on some time. One from Mytilene⁶ makes a Greek bet a Jew he will do it, and he does, passing it off to the Turks as a miracle, he having been relieved by his faith from constipation. This I have got back to a Benedictine (! ! !) source⁷ of the early xvi cent.

¹ Pp. 18-9.

² W. Crooke in *Folk-Lore*, xxix, 219.

³ Published in *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 134-5.

⁴ *Evagatorium*, ii, 228.

⁵ Cf. i, 268 : i, 380.

⁶ Georgeakis and Pineau, *Folk-Lore de Lesbos*, pp. 113 ff.

⁷ Bayle's *Dictionnaire* (Amsterdam and Leyden, 1730), s.v. *Mahomet*.

Leysin,

16th January, 1919.

Pecking away at Felix Fabri, I find in between his rather lengthy sermonising a quantity of good things. I note for you that, in his contract with the captain who took him to the H.L., the latter was to supply him with *bonis panibus et paximatibus*¹—that the word occurs elsewhere without his usual gloss on unfamiliar words, “quod Latine sonat,” *vel sim.*

There is further a note I find very interesting on M. Chrysoloras² & Greek studies, “Emanuel, philosophus et orator eminentissimus, qui litteras græcas in Italiam retulit, quæ jam per septingentos annos non fuerunt in usu.” This, written by a Dominican with no particular interest in such things about 1485, shews quite clearly, I think, the position M.C. held in regard to Gk. studies, though we find things blowing up before.

On the next page³ is an allusion to the prophecy of the fall of CP. by “Leo philosophus græcus,” who built a column on which were engraved the names of all future emperors & patriarchs. “Ideo in columna erat scriptum, Constantinus me fecit et Constantinus me dissolvit.”⁴ F.F. seems to have had this from “quidam doctus Græcus,” but rather implies not first-hand.

His usual authority in historical matters is still the *Speculum Historiale*,⁵ 250 years old, which to our ideas ought, in view of the very considerable advance in exact knowledge since, to have been out of date: I suppose, really knowledge had advanced, but not criticism, and the age of an authority only made him more venerable, whatever his relation to the events described. But it was this snowball system which made the growth of legend so easy. B. writes a book, encyclopædic by choice, based on A., a well-known & accepted authority, going one better than A., not in exactness, but in interpretation perhaps or combination of “prophetic” texts, even in amusingness.

¹ *Evagatorium*, i, 89. Baximadhia are well-known biscuits in the Levant.

² iii, 304: cf. above, p. 26.

³ iii, 305.

⁴ For Leo the Wise's prophecies see above, p. 114.

⁵ By Vincent of Beauvais.

For C., who compiles a similar work 50 years later, B's is fact, & so on, and he does not mark clearly what he has from B., far less what B. had from A., though, if he is *very* conscientious, he *may* refer to one or the other. Almost impossible, before printing got general, to check and sift, and the whole idea of possibility & probability was astray. Hence many joyous tangles for the likes of you and me to unravel.

I am keeping my eyes open for Transferences in the Holy Land, on which F.F., being very long-winded, often has tips. It will be very interesting & exceedingly complicated. What I am quite sure of is, that the fanatical zeal of the Catholics, especially the simpler kind of Franciscan monk,¹ exasperated the Moslems, particularly as they represented the intermittently hostile westerns. You do not find the indigenous churches suspected or watched or sat on in the same way, until of course Russia becomes the champion of orthodoxy: the Armenians, even so late as F.F.'s time, seem to have made their Palm Sunday procession by the Golden Gate,² which, as you know, opened on the Haram.

Another very curious phenomenon is related by F.F. about a site associated with the B.V. and, he expressly says, much venerated even by Moslems. With enormous trouble & evidently backshish, the Franciscans of Terra Santa got leave to make a church on the site,³ but they had no sooner started than the Moslems pulled it down. Evidently their experience was that, if the R.C.'s got hold of a place, they would not be allowed to use it, whereas in the converse case, often, I have no doubt, from no higher motive than interest, Christians without distinction were admitted to holy places—except in the case of the Dome of the Rock of course, and here one does not know the Moslem side. It was a great wheeze, even when it was officially shut, to smuggle oneself in and “testify”; “testifying” generally meant or included blackguarding the Prophet, and I have no doubt, if you got a fair chance to “merdare,”⁴ you would. But there is always a strain of jealousy, witness the exclusion of the Jews, as well

¹ Cf. Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, i, 310.

² Cf. Ludolf von Suchem, *De Itinere Terra Sancta* (c. 1350 A.D.), p. 76.

³ *Evagatorium*, i, 272.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 177.

as Xtians. from the tombs of the patriarchs at Hebron,¹ which continued certainly down to the latest conquest, and *they* would certainly play no dirty tricks there. The balance of tolerance, as between Moslem & R.C., certainly is in favour of the former, but at all dates decent men on all sides could get on, and the Padre Guardiano could certainly set the tone of the R.C's., if he liked. The one in F.F's. time got on exceedingly well with the (Egyptian) authorities of his day.

I shall perhaps have something on Virgil next time. The building at Arles cemetery² is, or was, a chapel dedicated by Christ. I do not think ∴ in the S. Cross tradition. It comes, of course, in the Roland cycle, epic of Guillaume Courtnez ("Aliscamps"—Elysii campi).³

Ps. xci. 6, "pestilence that walketh in darkness . . . destruction that wasteth at noonday,"⁴ A.V., but what has Vulgate?

Leysin,

24th January, 1919.

I have to-day your letter of 26 Dec., the fine long 3 pages with the monasteries and the shorter one of 3 Jan., which has fairly hustled. Thank you very much for both.

I have had a bad spell of temperature, now I think over. Consequently I have been rather off reading & writing, but I go on pecking at F. Fabri still, and amusing things come out. Lately I have found a curious account of a house at Cairo haunted evidently by *peris*, who turn everything upside down, but pay their rent regularly.⁵ He calls them "dominæ nymphæ," but admits they *may* be muses, as they sing. The thing I wanted him for⁶ particularly I cannot

¹ Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 73; Mandeville, ed. Wright, p. 161.

² See above, p. 133.

³ Millin, *Voyage dans les Departemens du Midi*, ii, 516.

⁴ For the midday demon see above, p. 153.

⁵ Fabri, iii, 41-2.

⁶ Passing between columns,

find, & I know I shall never have the energy to read through the 3 vols., time is so broken by cures, etc. for one thing.

Reflecting over Virgil I come more & more to the conclusion that his magician cycle is purely Oriental. Do you remember that at the baths of Puteoli he puts up tables, detailing the cures¹ which could be wrought by the various waters, & the medicos of Salerno, who thought they would lose custom, came & biffed the tables? According to Jewish tradition, Solomon put up similar tables in the temple, & Ezekias biffed them,² because people began to think they could cure illness without God. I am nearly sure there is something of this sort said of the hot springs of Tiberias,³ which are attributed by the Arabs to one of the philosophers, & I have hopes to find the same thing at Banias⁴ (Panias) in N. Syria, though my only evidence, as yet, is that there is a fine natural spring there bursting from the rock, with a lot of inscrr. (votives to Pan), and that the mediæval Arabs called it Belinas, which is Apollonius of Tyana.

The archetype of the oriental magician-philosopher is to my mind certainly *Solomon*, & it is at least curious that his one weakness—women—is reproduced, in the form of an apologue, in the stories of Virgil, also Aristotle, being fooled by women. Xtianity could not accept the theory of a Xtian. philosopher using demons *by the power of God* to execute his will, which is what Jewish Solomon did. Virgil hedges over this, & people like Gerbert⁵ got into hot water over it, though in the E. it would not have compromised them at all.

I have found the Virgil legend about the woman & the basket attributed to Solomon in Bulgaria⁶; I do not know whether it is Jewish, and this is no evidence of its real connection with Solomon; the apologue could be fitted on to

¹ Comparetti, *Virgilio*, ii, 41.

² Suidas, s.v. 'Εζεκίας.

³ There were bath-houses round the springs of Tiberias, until Aristotle demanded their destruction in the interests of doctors (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 336).

⁴ Banias was said by Dimashki to have been built by Balinas (Le Strange, p. 419). F.W.H. did not see these two references.

⁵ The eminent mathematician who became Pope Sylvester II. See Comparetti, *Virgilio*, ii, 15, 86.

⁶ Schischmanoff, *Légendes Religieuses Bulgares*, pp. 82 ff.

the learned man type of hero, & Solomon was the only one the Bulgars had heard of no doubt—according to them, of course, he built S. Sophia,¹ not the Temple, and the Turks have something of this kind.

I have just got a picture of the temple of Metapontum² called the table of the Paladins. The columns are evidently the legs of a gigantic table. What about Arthur's *round table*=Stonehenge, vel sim?

Back again to Suleiman bin Daoud! I remark that Virgil's magic garden³ may derive ultimately from Sol.'s "hortus conclusus," about which there has been much rubbish talked, especially à propos of canticles, and the traditional site was shown at Jerus. It wd. be lugged in to the medical side of the "wise man" as a garden of rare simples.

Do you think the Column with the names of future emperors down to the fall of CP⁴ (in my last, I think) is any help for your λίθος ἐλευθερίας?⁵ The idea of a tabulated prophecy like this is common enough, the second part of Daniel being, I suppose, the archetype. Indeed, prophecies of this kind attributed to Daniel were floating about the E., and the Turks' idea that all was UP with their empire after A.H.1000 seems based on one of them.⁶ Prophecies of general bust-up are more popular than prophecies of "liberty" but come to the same thing, the bust-up of the Turks being of course the ἐλευθερία of the Xtians. and so on. If there were mysterious marks in Cyprus⁷ somewhere on a rock, or a long inscr. they couldn't read, it might be put down as the prophecy of the doom of the Lusignans & triumph of the Greeks, don't you think? & even if they couldn't read it, they might gloat before the flood came & concealed it.

F. Fabri, by the way, puts Tannhäuser⁸ quite definitely

¹ P. 70.

² Above, p. 103.

³ Cf. Comparetti, *Virgilio*, i, 30-1: ii, 55 (this from a thirteenth century chronicle).

⁴ Above, p. 178.

⁵ These words occur in a difficult passage of Machæras (above, p. 66), which Professor Dawkins was reading at this time.

⁶ Cf. above, p. 107.

⁷ The passage in Machæras was about Cyprus.

⁸ *Evagatorium*, iii, 221.

in Cyprus. G. Paris¹ gets as far as Italy (Mte. Venere in Tuscany), but does not seem to consider, or know of, the Fabri passage. As you can't get Tannhäuser earlier than the Crusades, & Cyprus was so notoriously the country of Venus, I think, in spite of Fabri's late date, 1482, Cyprus may be the original location. Templars or Teutonic Knights could easily take it to Germany & put it on a German knight.

In *Iskendernama*,² 7 Philosophers at Alexander's court were Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, Hermes (evidently Trismegistus), Ferfurius (Porphyrius neoplatonist), Belinasus (Apoll. of Tyana), & Valisus: who is *Valisus*? *Galenus* gone wrong? Or Valentinianus, gnostic heresiarch?

Leysin,

8th February, 1919.

I have curiously run to earth your often quoted sentiment about mystics in R.C.ism.—that it was mostly luck what you were badged by the authorities. It comes in a review of the *Acta SS.* by Renan in *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*.³ But he goes one further and says it really depended on whether you were a good enough man to come it over your confessor or not. This I don't think is inevitably true, the Sacred Heart lady,⁴ for example, I feel sure, never took in her confessor, only, being a Jesuit, he felt there was good stuff running to waste, if she was not published.

¹ *Légendes du Moyen Age*, p. 134.

² By Nisami (died 1180). The reference is from Fr. Spiegel, *Die Alexander-sage bei den Orientalen* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 49.

³ Paris, 1858, pp. 301-315.

⁴ Above, p. 41.

Leysin,

13th February, 1919.

Your letter of 20th Jan. The S. Theodore island¹ sounds promising: which came first, the dragon-legend or the S. Theodore dedication? I put my money on the saint, on the ground that the dragon would naturally attract George.

I myself am all right, "no change," & occupied chiefly with keeping my temp. down. Books lately have not been brilliant. I am trying to group together the supposed pagan prophecies of the Virgin birth. They run along two lines (1) the Virgin birth itself (Is. vii. 14) and (2) its consequence, the breaking of idols & paganism (Is. xix. 1). The latter prophecy refers to the idols of *Egypt* & has consequently been used in the *Evang. Infantiae*, where the idols fall down at the coming of the Holy Family into Egypt at the Flight. This works up, by & by, to the idea that the Egyptians knew all about Christ beforehand, warned, as F. Fabri says, by Jeremiah,² who, I find, actually was in Egypt.³ But how early this comes, I don't know, Fabri's usual source being Vincent of Beauvais, which is already too late to be amusing.

Indeed, all through I have no dating, but, on the conjunction suggested above, I imagine the type story was first told of Egypt. At CP. Mandeville mentions⁴ a yarn that, when S. Sophia was being built, they found a body with a plate inscribed, "Christ shall be born of a virgin & I believe in Him." "And they say it was Hermogenes the Wise Man"—the best people seem to think this is a blunder for Hermes Trismegistus, however. Then, there is the Cyzicus yarn told already in decent Byz. times about Jason being ordered by Apollo to build a Temple to the Mother of God & building one to Cybele, Mother of the Gods, by mistake.⁵ By this you are

¹ Professor Dawkins had written about a small island off Canea in Crete which was reported to possess a dragon's cave.

² For these references see above, p. 174, n. 3.

³ He is said to have been buried by Alexander in Alexandria, see Baillet, *Saints de l'ancien Testament*, 1st May.

⁴ Ed. Wright, p. 135.

⁵ Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 161: cf. above, p. 174.

already close to the Ara Coeli yarn,¹ & it, in its turn, has inspired the yarn of the Druidical Virgin at Chartres² & there's, I believe, another such at Chalons.³ I am sure it is all one chain, resting on the two prophecies in the end & gathering new details like a snowball, as it went on, from archæological details locally. It seems quite clear, e.g., that the basilica of Constantine at Rome was early taken for the temple of Peace⁴ (I fancy the *regio templi pacis* survived the temple & the basilica was a good upstanding ruin), of which it was prophesied that it would fall when a Virgin bore a child.⁵ ("I come not to bring peace but a sword"?)

Ara Coeli yarn is very complicated but not, I think, early. I believe they still claim to possess the "Ara primogeniti Dei" of Augustus, but it is hidden by something else.⁶ Maybe you know about this? I am very much at present for the theory that Ara Coeli is a corruption of "*In aureo cælo*," which is not infrequent, it appears, elsewhere, S. Apoll. Nuovo at Ravenna having been originally S. Martinus "in cælo aureo," if memory serves. Nobody would have *thought* of Ara Coeli, and it does not fit on particularly well.

A propos of these inscription wheezes (the classical one is the inscription alleged of Simon Magus, now *proved* (yes) to be of SEMO SANCUS),⁸ I note a Gallo-Roman inscr. DEO OVNI/ORIGI,⁹ where the *papades* missed a point. OVNIORIX, apparently a respectable G-R¹⁰ God, would have made a splendid DEO (O)VNI ORIGI(NALI) & sure proof of Druidic enlightenment.

¹ Its altar was erected by Augustus to commemorate the prophecy of the Cumæan Sibyl about the birth of Christ (Murray, *Hand-Book of Rome*, London, 1899, p. 32).

² According to tradition Druids at Chartres had worshipped the "Virgin who was to give birth to Christ."

³ See Saintyves, *Reliques et Images Légendaires*, p. 142, n. 2.

⁴ Nibby, *Itinerario di Roma* (Rome, 1830), p. 142: cf. Beugnot, *Destruction du Paganisme*, i, 259 ff.

⁵ De Voragine, *Légende Dorée*, p. 39.

⁶ See above, p. 58.

⁷ Baedeker, *Northern Italy* (1899), p. 370.

⁸ Hare, *Walks in Rome*, ii, 359.

⁹ Quicherat, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, p. 404.

¹⁰ Gallo-Roman.

Leysin,

18th February, 1919.

I have had the Alcoran of the False Prophet to read, or rather to look up certain passages in. I got hold of a 100 years' old French translation,¹ which to my mind eliminates any nobility of style there may be in the original, & having looked out my texts, skipped through the whole to get a general impression. Read like this, it is exceedingly monotonous & rather incoherent. The legislative parts are much less important & elaborate than in the Pentateuch & mainly about women. The rest harps on two ideas, the Unity of God (with corollary, wickedness of idolatry) and reality of Mahommed's mission (with corollary, wickedness of denying it). The themes of heaven & hell are treated at great length as stimulants to belief. The mythology parts are not, as in the Bible, narrative, but used as preacher's themes to illustrate the two leading ideas. Nearly all the sacred persons mentioned are prophets, who had to contend with opposition but afterwards were vindicated by the fate of their opponents. So you get Moses, Abraham, Lot, etc. alluded to again & again, but their history is assumed to be known to the audience, and an incident is often recalled by a mere hint. I have found a fair number of things I thought were only in the commentators are really in the text, e.g. Queen of Sheba & Solomon, the queen (characteristically) not being named, and many incidents (hairy leg test, e.g.) merely alluded to, being familiar to the audience. Mariolatry is ingeniously disposed of. God told Mahomet He had asked Christ, whether He had given orders that His mother should be worshipped, and Christ said certainly not.²

Did you know the Text (v. 114),³ "Jésus adressa au ciel cette prière: Seigneur, fais-nous descendre une table du ciel. . . . (115) Le Seigneur exauça sa demande." This is said locally to have happened after the Temptation & Fasting, but I suppose it must have come from garbled versions

¹ By Savary.

² Ed. Sale, p. 88.

³ i.e. in Savary's translation: it is p. 87 in Sale's.

of the Last Supper, the Cenaculum being shown at Jerusalem and the scene frequently depicted. I wonder whether the supernatural nature of the meal was not suggested by the type of the *μυστικὸν δεῖπνον*,¹ where, if I remember rightly, the angels officiate.

I could find nothing very striking about infernal arrangements in the Koran, though much is said on the subject—no imagination at all, as I had hoped, only fire, braziers, chains, & some disgusting fruit to eat.

Leysin,

24th February, 1919.

Do you know that the Jews have the idea that, at the first Captivity, the Ark was hidden in a chamber contrived by Solomon under the Temple rock, and is still there?² This is further developed till you get a fine yarn that the whole temple, ark & all, sank into the ground & the Prophet Elias still makes daily sacrifice in it³ according to the old law. This is surely the ultimate basis of the S. Sophia legend of the priest going into the wall with the chalice,⁴ the mysterious celebration of Easter,⁵ & the fairly numerous yarns of buried churches,⁶ whose services are heard now & then. The whole cycle of legend associated with the temple has the same importance for the folklore of buildings, as the development of the Solomon myth for the folklore of magicians and philosophers.

I thought I should get much more for "Transferences"⁷ out of Jerusalem, but the positive gain is not so very big. It

¹ The Last Supper. F.W.H. is probably thinking of the Divine Liturgy where Christ appears as a High Priest and celebrates mass, angels bringing the necessary vessels, etc. (Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie*, p. xxxvi).

² Geo. Williams, *Holy City*, i, 53, quoted by Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, i, 540.

³ Pierotti, *Légendes Racontées*, p. 86.

⁴ See, e.g. Murray's *Hand-Book for Constantinople* (London, 1900), p. 48.

⁵ Buchon, *La Grèce Continentale*, p. 540.

⁶ See, e.g. Stanley, *Sinai*, p. 14: cf. p. 39.

⁷ From Christianity to Islam.

is surprising, for instance, that "Transference arrested by miracle"¹ occurs only in very feeble & late legends connected with 5th rate holy places; none of the big ones seem to have put up a fight at all.

The Turks wanted Zion and the Cenaculum, in the first place for the tomb of David,² which was supposed to be there, ostensibly because it was a holy place, but also no doubt because of the tall stories in circulation about the immense treasures buried with David by Solomon,³ of which we had an echo not so very long ago!

I am very interested to find out the detailed history of the transference of the Ascension church. It is a site held sacred by Moslems, who apparently accept the Ascension on a Koranic text,⁴ though not, of course, the Passion & Resurrection; so that they have never been attracted to the Sepulchre church & Golgotha.

There appears to be no evidence for the form of the pre-Crusading Sepulchre⁵ beyond that it was a "tugurium rotundum," so that the case for my supposed Aquileia reproduction can never be more than hypothetical.

Leysin,

4th March, 1919.

I note for your cruciform fonts that the font in the H.S. church c. 1610 is said to have been square outside & "of the shape of a rose" inside (Tobler, *Golgatha*, 372, quoting Quaresmius).

¹ This subject forms chapter iii in F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

² Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, p. 14.

³ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, vii, 12.

⁴ Ed. Sale, p. 71.

⁵ Above, p. 87.

Leysin,

5th March, 1919.

I got a funny thing out of Tobler about S. Pelagia's grave¹ (where people who have made a bad confession cannot pass between the tomb & the wall). It was, or even is, a three-decker cult, the Xtians. calling it Pelagia's tomb, the Jews that of the prophetess Huldah, and the Mos. Rabahet Bent Hassan el-Masri. I don't know what "Rabahet" is, but "Bent Hassan el Masri" is obviously "daughter of Hassan the Egyptian" (Masr), which is supposed to be a muddle with the adjacent cell of Mary of Egypt.² Hassan they do not explain, but Hassan *el-Basri* is a very celebrated saint. He is buried at Basra and appeared after death to say that his tomb must be built with the head against the turbeh wall, so that people could not circumambulate the tomb³; why, I don't know, he is not supposed to have been very orthodox, and circumambulation is practised at Mecca anyhow. But it seems clear there is a connection, probably of the futile kind that acts as a warning & wet blanket against all logical reasoning in these things, with the Pelagia ritual.

What do you think of this as a speculation? S. Maria Maggiore, as you know, is also called "ad Nives," because snow in July indicated its future site.⁴ Now the Burning Bush is considered a type of the Virgin and is painted with a figure of the Virgin in its branches.⁵ From this come a number of legends representing images of the B.V. as found in (thorn) bushes, a rather good example of legend evolved from "imagerie." Among the other figures of the B.V. is the *Fleece of Gideon*, which is represented, I believe, in this sense at Chilandari.⁶ I think, if represented in painting (colour is important) in S. Maria Maggiore, it might give rise to, or help on, the legend of the foundation, easily if the connection of the church with *snow* was already made. People are particu-

¹ Tobler, *Siloahquelle*, p. 126.

² *Id.* p. 133.

³ Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie* (Amsterdam, 1780), ii, 181.

⁴ Cf. Murray's *Hand-Book of Rome* (London, 1899), p. 137.

⁵ Above, p. 93.

⁶ See Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 103, n.: cf. p. 290.

larly apt to connect an unfamiliar picture or carving with their own church in which it is, and a very large amount of this kind of folklore derives in the end from the formula :—misinterpreted figure or name adapted to familiar legend ; in this case, figure & man combining *back again*, with adaptation of legend belonging properly to figure. This seems very elaborate but isn't, I think, really. People with a hazy remembrance of the incidents of the Gideon story (and it is the incidents that stick, rather than the personalities) and the idea of the *snow* in their minds might arrive at something like the story, as now told. I expect it would be easy enough to find out when the ch. was first named *ad nives*,¹ and perhaps a plausible guess as to why. Most such things *start* from popular etymology of a pretty simple sort.

Do you remember a great bobbery there is about the Athos Guide to Painting?² Polites³ says the ordinary edition you get in Athens is faked and the language can't be depended upon. It seems quite clear, from what Didron says,⁴ that the ordinary MSS., of which there were several in his time, were still in practical use & consequently that one would not expect to find the texts identical but rather a certain diversity, due to interpretation for quite practical reasons at various late dates. The original date of the book⁵ is now, I believe, put much later than formerly, something like 1650 rather than 1450, so has suffered the fate of most Athos things. I myself include among the things to date down the supposed awfully ancient church of Karyès,⁶ which I think really belongs to the date of the voivode's Slavonic inscription, I fancy 1508.⁷ I don't think it has ever been meant to have

¹ According to Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, ed. Scannell (London, 1917), p. 563, the oldest authority for the story is Pope Nicholas IV in 1287.

² See above, pp. 155-6.

³ The author of *Μελέται περί τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Λαοῦ* and numerous other books on modern Greek customs and language. I cannot find the passage to which F.W.H. alludes. Professor Dawkins later informed him that the ordinary edition of the guide was published by Simonides, who inserted three forged chapters.

⁴ *Manuel*, p. xxiii.

⁵ *Manuel*, p. xxiii.

⁶ Cf. Hasluck, *Athos and its Monasteries*, p. 170, n.

⁷ Hasluck, *op. cit.* p. 169.

vaulting, & the way it is planned, according to Brockhaus, seems to me to come nearer the Refectory of Lavra than anything I know; this is, I think, first half xvi, too. Have you any ideas on this?¹ Poor Panselenos, of course, according to Didron the Giotto of the Athos school, has had a nasty shock & dropped a couple of centuries through the correct reading of the Lavra inscription²: here again he wd. square quite well with my view of the Karyès ch. dating.

I forget whether I told you I heard from Jeffery about the churches of S. Cross in Jerus. and Cyprus.³ Both, as they stand, are modern, so the evidence for my theory, if it ever existed, exists no longer.

Leysin,

8th March, 1919.

I heard the other day from White of Marsovan,⁴ who is on his way to CP. with a relief mission of 190 persons: I took the opportunity of sending in your name & mine grateful remembrance & best wishes to any American Missionaries that may remember us. Indeed, I wish them well, and they will get a chance now. My only fear is that, if U.S.A. becomes more important commercially in Asia Minor, their missions may lose their prestige for disinterestedness,⁵ of course undeservedly.

I had got this far, when yours of Feb. 14th came along, thank you, & the photographs of Samara, etc. I have recently seen photogs. of Ibn Touloun⁶ minaret: it differs from

* Panselenos painted frescoes in the church of Karyes and elsewhere on Athos.

* Cf. Diehl, *Manual d'Art Byzantin*, p. 763.

* Mr. Jeffery referred F.W.H. to his own paper on S. Cross of Cyprus in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1916 (March), pp. 112-3, adding that it is wrongly figured there (fig. 1) as the "Basilica of Constantia."

* See above, p. 163.

* In this respect the American missionaries contrast with the missions maintained by several European Powers in Turkey.

* See above, p. 25.

Samarra in having a square base before the twiddly part begins. (Minaret with twiddly outside stair is shewn in your Arundel Carpaccio). I told you I think the connection, viz. that a Samarra man did the Ibn Touloun. In the first place I imagine it is a concession to the clumsy technique of crude brick, they having neither stone nor wood to help out the stairs with.

For mod. Gr. do you know there is a quite early vocab. of common words, in English letters, as I remember, which might make it more amusing, in Wm. Wey's *Itinerary*¹ about 1460, pubd. by some truffers' society? Of course to be had at B.M., but I believe hard to pick up.

If you should be in Athens, try & get me a *Polites' Paradoxeis*²; it would be a great resource, and I see no chance of ever getting away from here.

(Back to yours of 2 Feb.). About iconography, literature, & folk-lore, the interplay is very complicated. A very nice case of Ferhad & Shirin, which is a romance written in Persia & Persian, & is quite definitely located in Persia apparently; it was taken up as a theme by a Turkish poet,³ who placed the scene of it at Amasia—where the grave of Ferhad is now shewn! ⁴ I believe most "historical" folklore is not based on history direct but on *treated* history, e.g. that the Roland & Charlemagne associated with places are those of the Chansons de Geste, not of history: here it is obvious, but I imagine it is also typical.

Have you ever thought of the influence of classical or type stories as rather similar to that of languages, in phenomena of popular etymology? There is a kind of mould made, to which anything at all similar is made to conform. Once you have, e.g., the Master & Apprentice story formed, any two architectural works, rather similar in form & one more striking than the other, imply this story, just as the vernacular sucks difficult foreign words into itself, *making* recalcitrant elements conform to its standards. Of course you are right

¹ Pp. 102-115: published by the Roxburghe Club, London, 1857. Wey visited Jerusalem in 1458 and in 1462.

² Vols. i and ii of his *Melêrai*, for which see above, p. 190, n. 3.

³ See Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, i, 318.

⁴ Sestini, *Viaggio a Bassora*, p. 45: Skene, *Anadol*, p. 104.

about the Willow Pattern.¹ I imagine parents are constantly doing that sort of thing with children, & that it is a very good way of developing a child's imagination.

Re "dragon" in Coptic legend of S. George,² I am much interested but *still I am right!*³ You do not lavish compliments on the heathen king who is taking it out of your hero, he isn't clever or brave or strong, probably it is the power of Beelzebub; and the "old dragon" Satan is part of the calogeric⁴ artist's outfit. There is something about *drakos* as a name for children in Papazapheiropoulos: I believe he says that orphans, bearing the name of their parents, are so called to avoid the pain of pronouncing the name of the dear departed⁵: this is over sentimental, there must be superstition at the back: unlucky to have, or use, the name of the recently dead? Might bring back his ghost by accident? *Vel sim.*, I should think.

I suppose your S. Helena legend from Machæras⁶ is to bolster up some claim of a Cypriote monastery to possess the bad thief's cross or perhaps a second claim to the good thief's, which was at S. Croce in Cyprus, you remember. It wd. make the bad thief's nearly as good of course.

About the mirrors, I feel pretty sure the whole thing derives ultimately from the mirror on Alexander's Pharos at Alexandria. It, you will remember, was a great protection to the city, as it allowed of ships being discovered 50 days off, and measures could

¹ In commenting on a letter (above, p. 190) by F.W.H., Professor Dawkins had suggested that the picture in the Willow pattern had made the story now told of it and that originally the picture had done no more than depict idyllic scenes of life in a Chinese garden.

² See above, p. 170.

³ Professor Dawkins had suggested that "dragon," the epithet applied to King Tatian in the Coptic story, meant "stout fellow" and had also quoted Bent's evidence for *δράκος* being used to mean an unbaptised child. I have myself heard the word used by Greeks and Vlachs as Bent says, the explanation given being that before baptism the child was not to be reckoned a human being (*δὲν εἶνε ἀνθρώπος ἀκόμη*). For the same reason a child who dies unbaptised is buried apart, without the services of a priest, and afterwards its bones are not dug up, as are those of baptised persons. This seems confirmation of F.W.H.'s view. See further my forthcoming book on Greek and Turkish folklore from Macedonia.

⁴ *Καλόγερος* = monk.

⁵ This reference is in Papazapheiropoulos' *Περὶ σπυριγῶν γλῶσσικῆς ὕλης καὶ ἐθίμων*, which is inaccessible in England.

⁶ S. Helen is said to have broken up the crosses and mixed the wood before refashioning the crosses.

be taken, if they were hostile.¹ This, I expect, develops into the *mirror* itself destroying the ships, perhaps with a vague idea of the effects of a burning glass,² if this is not an anachronism. A subtle Greek eventually destroys the mirror & it is all UP. The same story is applied to the tower called Torre del Specchio at Rome and lugged into the Virgil legend,³ I remember, and it is said to be in the Romance of the 7 Sages,⁴ which I can, and must get at. There is a place Kasr-el-Ainy⁵ at Old Cairo and a (Roman) château du miroir near Vienne.⁶

P.S.

Re mixing the crosses,⁷ I find Mandeville has, "In Cyprus is the hill of the Holy Cross . . . and there is the Cross of Dismas the good thief . . . And some men believe that there is half of the Cross of our Lord; but it is not so" (Wright's ed. p.141, cf. 131). He says⁸ there were 4 kinds of wood in the cross "*In Cruce fit palma, cedrus, cypressus, oliva.*" Didn't you always hear 3, reading *viva*, which scans & makes a leonine? Perhaps this belongs to an earlier stratum depending on Seth & the three seeds.

Re magic mirrors.⁹ "There are made at Damascus . . . mirrors of steel that magnify like burning glasses. I have seen some that, when exposed to the sun, have reflected the heat so strongly as to set fire to a plank 15 or 16 feet distant" (Bertrandon dela Brocquière,¹⁰ 1432, ed. Wright, p. 304). There is a place in Mesopotamia, where there is a castle, and at some distance a tower. A king lived in the castle and his daughter used the tower for her amour with a nigger. But the king had a "telescope" & saw it all going on, so he killed her with a "glance."¹¹ This is surely a modern version of the

¹ Benjamin of Tudela, in Wright's *Travels*, p. 122.

² See below, for these.

³ See Comparetti, *Virgilio*, ii, 74.

⁴ G. Paris, *Les Sept Sages de Rome*, p. 115: cf. Comparetti, ii, 84.

⁵ Lit. *Mirror Castle*.

⁶ M. Reymond, *Grenoble et Vienne*, p. 94.

⁷ Above, p. 193.

⁸ P. 131.

⁹ Above.

¹⁰ This book came in while F.W.H. was actually writing this letter.

¹¹ Cahun, *Excursions sur les Bords de l'Euphrate*, p. 188.

same thing. As at Alexandria, the telescope-mirror was defensive in that you could spot goings on out of your ordinary range, & offensive in that you could biff objects at a distance. Your story¹ makes two things, the glass house and the mirror, out of this idea, *plus* the idea of a glass house as a great marvel. "Glass house" or "Pavilion" bears the same relation to house with a glazed window (rather swagger once) as "City of Brass" does to the existent (but rather remarkable) brass (city) gates: this is a regular poietic processus (very good!) corresponding to what I call in hagiology "progressive lying."

I must have told you, I think, my idea that in Bridge of Arta stories the suckling of the child by the immured mother is suggested by the sweating of lime from the mortar of new buildings? Did I get as far as the Dibra Version, which says that milk flowed till the child grew up (was old enough to be weaned?), then water?² This is very strong confirmation, I think, and in Crooke's article on Master & Apprentice³ comes an Indian story of an architect, buried in a temple & fed with milk by his wife *through the interstices of the stones*, possibly the same thing derived independently. Is it also at the back of the Roman legend of the pious daughter suckling her imprisoned father?⁴ Very much at the back, because the point of the latter in its *canonical* form is, that the daughter tricked the jailer, who presumably searched her. If she suckled him through a window, she might equally have passed him pâté de foie gras or chocolate.

¹ Professor Dawkins had referred F.W.H. to a story on p. 323 of his *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, where the hero, on his way to capture the heroine, is told by his horse that, if he succeeds in breaking the glass house in which the girl lives, before she sees him, he will secure her. The hero succeeds and the heroine, seizing her magic mirror which revealed what people at a distance were doing, mounted behind him and fled with him.

² Above, p. 124.

³ Above, p. 177.

⁴ Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire des Reliques*, ii, 161 ff.

Leysin,

15th March, 1919.

I speculated at the Geneva circulating library on Niya Salima, "Harems et Musulmanes d'Egypte," fearing terrible things & hoping for perhaps a chance tip or two for folklore or superstition. It is, on the contrary, a most excellent book by a Frenchwoman, giving much the best idea I have yet struck of how the various forms of Moslem polygamy work out in practice, and some very curious information on the spiritualistic séances or devil-worship run by negress slaves, of which I have found hints elsewhere.

I have got yours of Feb. 23. The book containing extracts and notes on the mediæval ideas of Islam is Henry de Castries,¹ *L'Islam, Impressions et Etudes*, Paris, 1896. I should think he was a soldier in the Algerian army, he complains bitterly of the pedantry of the professed Orientalists and the snubs he has got from them. I am nearly sure I have seen other works of his cited.

Felix Fabri (Schmidt) was a boche Dominican of Ulm, who did a pilgrimage in the 1480's, indeed 2, and wrote a fat book, very interesting all through and enlightened.

I think with you about Aristotle & Virgil & women apophthegm², but note Solomon himself in the same boat amongst the Bulgars. Sol. certainly *was* made a fool of by his harem, & the Rabbis can hardly have represented this but as a kind of infatuation. So you can then arrive at the same point by a different (& older) route, as so often. Certainly the idea (evil cunning of women) is common enough & takes root anywhere the ascetic ideal prevails. Egyptian hermits, & *Breton* ditto, really much the same, and I quite expect connected, the Egyptian being from the earliest Xtian. times the typical anchorite type & *well boomed*.

I found the "table of the Paladins"³ *first* in Baedeker, but, having the impression the Metapontum temple was all down, didn't see the point till I struck a picture, which brought it out,

¹ See above, p. 176.

² Professor Dawkins had written that he thought the tales of Aristotle and Virgil being fooled by women were European as much as Oriental.

³ See above, p. 182.

and the connection with the round table. Don't you think people have put down a lot of the Arthur cycle to Celts, which was really derived from the Carolingian cycle? It is likely, as enthusiasm for things Celtic came up, as I understand, before any one cared a bit about Roland, etc., through the study of Breton language, already before the beginning of the xix c.

I call your κάτω κόσμος fairyland, and Tannhäuser's, too, in the end. You have to get underground via cave, well, lake, etc. to strike fairyland (or hell) in any form.

What interested me¹ was that G. Paris did not seem to know of the Venusberg in Cyprus or further E. than Tuscany, whereas, when you *do* know it, it is clear that Cyprus has a better title to it than anywhere else.

Leysin,

27th March, 1919.

"Moslem World"² current number gives the text of Enver's³ Pan-Turanian prayer to the White Wolf & parties (sounds like Boy Scouts somehow), which he ordered to be prayed daily by the Tk. army. How can people like that be such blatant fools?

From a book on Tunis⁴ (really a great scoop & very unexpected) I have cribbed down 5 solid pages⁵ of a wonderful story of the taking by the French (1881) of Kairouan, which, as you know, is very sacred. It appears that a celebrated marabout had died there in 1856, leaving behind him a number of prophecies engraved on sword blades (he had been a smith in his time), which in times of stress were consulted like oracles. When the news came that the French were marching on Kairouan, there was no end of a consternation & pre-

¹ See above, p. 183.

² ix (1919), p. 71.

³ Enver Pasha, the Turkish leader. For the wolf in Turkish Mythology see E. H. Parker, *1,000 Years of Tartars*, 1924, p. 130.

⁴ E. Poiré, *La Tunisie Française*, p. 187.

⁵ Pp. 200 ff.

paration for defence by devout Jehaddists & others. Enter the *Imam* in charge of the swords with proposal to consult the oracle. Approved, & he did. A very fine oracle was discovered on one of the blades (ὁ τοῦ θωύματος), making it clear that the only thing for Kairouan was to hands up, & the white flag was hoisted. The curious part of it is, that the *Imam* was a French renegade (born at Elbœuf) of remarkable piety, who had fudged the sword-blade in question & was in touch with the Fr. consul-general. Author swears this is true (referring to *Rev. des 2 Mondes*, 15 Oct. 1890, p. 832) and says his guide was a friend of the Imam's (d. 1885) & quite believed in the prophecy still.¹

Leysin,

5th April, 1919.

A propos of the dog *Khatmr*,² I find that *Khatm* is a *seal* in Arabic. You will remember that said dog's job in heaven is the superintendence of registered letters, and I have a passage recording some Arab prince's seal which contained the name of *Khatmr* & was used for letters.³ I do not know of any reference to the dog in Christian legend except in a curious and very corrupt note in a MS., where *catulus iuriacus*⁴ (?? ?) is mentioned. Any suggestions?

I have been through my "Transferences" typscript⁵ for mistakes; all told, they are not numerous or bad, can nearly all be corrected at sight, being stupid or careless, the best sort of mistake really.

I have got from Lausanne, & heartily recommend, Herm.

¹ For F.W.H.'s deductions from this story see the chapter on Renegade Saints in his *Christianity and Islam*.

² The Seven Sleepers' dog, see above, p. 18.

³ La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse*, p. 74: Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, ii, 301.

⁴ I cannot trace this.

⁵ When we left Greece in December 1916 for Switzerland, the danger of being submarined at sea compelled F.W.H. to leave all his MSS. behind. Until the armistice relaxed the censorship on letters to Switzerland, he had been unable to have them forwarded from either England or Greece.

Strack (prot.) *Der Blutaberglaube* (Munich '92), which, to all open minds, disposes of the famous charge against the Jews completely & finally. There are many curious things in it, and an excellent summary at the end of the *facts* which contributed to the formation of the legend. One quite new to me (author is a Hebraist) is, that on the first evening of the Easter feast the Jews have a custom of drinking 4 pots of red wine in remembrance of the children slain by Pharaoh. *This custom a rabbi of about 1600 tried to put down on the ground of its being a cause of scandal.*¹

I note also that the Jews seem to have been thought from a very early date, in consequence of their having taken on the curse of Christ's blood before Pilate, to have the physical disabilities of women, for which the only antidote was Christian blood.² Some Jews in the 14's (needless to say, under torture & leading questions³) confessed to this, & I have met the idea somewhere before. The basis of fact is, that they really did use a certain gum, I suppose red, as it is called in German *drachensblut*,⁴ to stop hæmorrhage at circumcision. (This *combinazione* is my own.) The need of Christian blood for medicinal (probably this) purpose is clearly older than the idea that they actually consumed it in the Easter bread, which on the snowball system adds the horror of cannibalism and probably murder, which is not necessarily implied by the use of Xtian. blood, for outward applications.

The third idea is of the scandalous parody of the Crucifixion. The germ of this is, I think, in the miracle of the Bleeding Crucifix at Beyrout.⁵ A Jew, having found in a house recently inhabited by Christians a crucifix, rags it, & it bleeds. (A.D. 760: full tide of eikon controversy): the blood used medicinally (as above, obviously) worked miracles & converted many Jews. This again is not noticed by S., who does not claim to write for folklorists but in the interests of justice.

¹ P. 153.

² Strack, p. 116.

³ e.g. at Tyrnau in 1494 (Strack, p. 116). Torture was used at Damascus so late as 1840 (Strack, p. 117).

⁴ Of the *calamus draco* (Strack, p. 153, n.).

⁵ D'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 346 ff.

There is a further factor in the legend, that of child-murder. In Greg. Turon. there is a miracle of the B.V., I believe, derived from Evagrius.¹ A Jew child takes the sacrament more or less by accident with his Xtian. playmates & is thrown down a well by his wicked father (B.V. saves him of course). S. says, à propos of something else, that Jews frequently did murder *their own* children² to save them from being baptized, which is an interesting *scholion* on this miracle. Of course, it would have been a noble "Roman father" touch, if a Christian had done such a thing, but merely barbarously cruel in a dog of a Jew. The miracle happened again (?) in the Middle Ages at Bourges³: these good old chestnuts are always popping out. And it proves the Jews are child-murderers by instinct, which is all to the good of course.

What struck me in general was that the Popes, Kings, & authorities generally saw it was all a put-up job & tried, at times anyway, to put it down, certain bulls stating that the alleged crimes were fathered on the Jews for interested purposes, as appears in some instances proved by the contemp. evidence of the courts. There is one in which a (Boche) noble in debt got it up to do away with his creditor,⁴ & (when all the Jews in the place had been burnt) got found out, more than one in which the disappearance of illegitimate, or otherwise unwanted, children was put on the Jews by their parents. The victim in the celebrated Trent case,⁵ who got canonised & still is, was really (his murderer confessed) done in by a Xtian.; & this the Pope recognised but could not undo the canonisation & save his face & that of the local bp.

I also got a fine tip for the early history of Transubstantiation⁶ in a quotation from S. Amphilochius' (bp. of *Konia*) life of S. Basil. It is of considerable curiosity for me as it occurs, as I remember, dished up in the Mevlevi (*Konia*, please note) *Acts of the Adepts*,⁷ where Jelal-ed-din⁸ is somehow the hero.

¹ *De Gloria Martyrum*, cap. x.

² Strack, p. 137.

³ Migne's note to Greg. Turon., *loc. cit.*

⁴ At Pösing in 1509, see Strack, pp. 120-1.

⁵ Strack, pp. 119-120.

⁶ Strack, p. 69.

⁷ Redhouse, *Mesnevi of Mevlana Jelalu-'d-Din*, pp. 22-3.

⁸ Founder of the Mevlevi dervishes.



A CORNER IN BEYROUT

Face p. 200

I shall one day make you look this up. I could not make it out at all before, the scene is a monastery of 40 monks in lesser Armenia who are tormenting a child, i.e. the transubstantiated Host in the prototype¹. (Redhouse translated the *Acts* with his *Mesnevi*). It is quite evident that the early Xtians, with their imagery of Flesh & Blood of Christ, were much more obviously open to the charge of cannibalism from outsiders (the charge was made, of course)² than the Jews, who *ex hypothesi*, may not eat even animals' blood. More of this perhaps later.

Leysin,

11th April, 1919.

Re Arcadi and the rain,³ I find it very interesting. I should think amongst the ingredients might be the idea of rain as a blessing, as I believe it is usually considered in the S. (do you know the pretty "rachmet" for a *shower* in Turkish?), and this is implied by the text, "God sendeth rain upon the just & unjust"; perhaps the hypothetical sinner at Arcadi⁴ passed all ordinary limits. But, if you are going to have a miracle, you will. Quite soon after the H.S. fire of 1808, it was said that *only* the H.S. itself had been spared,⁵ the rest burnt to the ground, which, as we know, is entirely untrue.

I have been thinking a lot about conversion, & come to the conclusion that converts to Rome are mostly historical or hysterical by temperament, to Islam erratic or erotic. The man that let the French into Cairouan⁶ must have been

¹ S. Amphilochios' *Life of Saint Basil*.

² See Kortholt, *De Calumniis Paganorum in veteres Christianos sparsis*, Kiel, 1668.

³ On the day of a massacre in Crete, Professor Dawkins was told, it rained everywhere except at Arcadi, which God apparently wished to be destroyed: perhaps there was a sinner there.

⁴ See last note.

⁵ I can give no reference for this, but in 1922 Greeks told me that a recent conflagration at Kastoria in Western Macedonia had stopped at a certain church.

⁶ See above, p. 198.

a rum card. He had, previously to his conversion to Islam, tried La Trappe & Salt Lake City.

My Mother is taking the *Mos. World* for me. I shall keep anything of White's¹ and, as soon as he is settled again, write & buck him up & tell him to do it 4 times as long for an eventual book. All he gets is *new stuff*.

I wish I could get at the Jewish encyclopædia.² It is said to be awfully well done, internationally, I suspect, with base in U.S.A. I particularly want to get the articles on Elijah, Solomon & Temple. I grubbed out of Hastings³ that the Jews at Passover laid a place for Elijah, which reminds me both of Khidr & the Wandering Jew, & I should not be surprised if the Jewish conception of Elijah as the eternal wanderer (garbled) had contributed (as have several other things) to the conception. He would have to be *all wrong*, of course, to the mediæval mind by the mere fact of his being supposed to turn up at Jewish parties. Do you know anything about the W.J. in Hellenic circles?⁴ I have come across traces of him in folklore of Symi way and Mytilene: they seem to call him *κουτητής*⁵ or something like it, of which I can make nothing. There is a demon of sorts called *κουκούθδι* in Albania, who seems a kind of Kallikantzaros. Philology doesn't help much in these nonsense words, every one gives them a twist according to fancy. But G. Paris apparently knew nothing of W.J. in Greece, writing in the '90's,⁶ was it?

I begin to think the adventures of Moses with the Servant of God in the Koran are the model on which Alexander guided by Khidr is probably taken. They are really an apophthegm on, "God knows best, however it may appear to human reason." In his journey with the Servant of God, Moses sees the latter commit three apparently blatant acts of injustice: he scraggs a child, sinks a ship, & wrecks a house, all arbitrary

¹ Professor White of Marsovan, see above, p. 163.

² F.W.H. was not in England later than November, 1914, and was not at that time interested in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*. When he became interested, he found that no copy of this work was accessible in either Greece or Switzerland, where he lived from the time he left England until his death.

³ *Encyclopædia of Religion*, s.v. *Elijah*.

⁴ Polites has gathered up the references in his *Μελέται*, ii, 788: cf. below, p. 230.

⁵ See below, p. 216.

⁶ Paris' first essay on the Wandering Jew is dated 1880, his second 1891.

acts to outward seeming; but the child would have grown up a murderer, the ship have been seized by pirates, & the house concealed a treasure worth many times its value."¹

Here the very Semitic, "Shall not the Lord of the Earth do right?" is the leading idea, & they ran it almost to excess; compare the story of Job, handed over, for the Devil to have a bit of fun with, by God, Who is yet held to have done him quite well, by setting him up with a new set of camels, daughters (!), & other household stock. Of course the poet fell into this from the best motives, trying to vindicate virtuous people who, falling into misfortune, were supposed on this account to be sinners chastised by God for their iniquities. So I think, if I get the Jewish encyclopædia, I shall run the Servant of God down in his Jewish original.

Did I tell you about Pharaoh & the infants' blood bath? It comes out of a commentary on Exodus ii, 23. "It came to pass that Pharaoh died . . . & the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage." I.e., says the commentator,² P. didn't die but became leprous, which is as bad or worse, (Num. xii. 12), and consequently the Jews knew he would want their children for his blood-cure & sighed accordingly, a fine piece of exegesis.³

I have had Lamartine's *Voy. en Orient*: he is a first-class goose.

The Wee Free⁴ is absent & I have had most that I want out of Lausanne Cantonal & Richard's at Geneva & the English Library at Montreux. Lausanne only lets out 80s, which is a great nuisance. I want a lot of 4tos. They seem to be the stuffiest library⁵ we have yet dealt with, which is bad luck. From the Weefs I still have a certain amount to get; they *have* done me well.

¹ For the "Three Unjust Deeds" see chapter iv of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

² Midrash, see Strack, *Der Blutaberglaube*, p. 21.

³ *Sic*.

⁴ The Librarian of the Bibliothèque de Théologie Libre at Lausanne.

⁵ Gibbon also complained of the difficulties made by the cantonal library of Lausanne.

Leysin,

21st April, 1919.

The Weefs' librarian is back & has sent me a priceless lot of books, including an article in *Rev. Hist. Rel.*¹ by Goldziher, which is, I suppose, the best conspectus on Moslem sainthood, & Lane's "Modern Egyptians" which is inexhaustible, very learned, & exceedingly interesting.

Do you know the Arab *Chansons de geste* quoted & talked about at some length by Lane in "Mod. Egyptians"?² I think they would interest you in connection with Digenes. One is very like Zohrab & Rustem. Is that *really* Persian or Arab? As I remember, the life is more Bedouin than settled. Anyway, it is all rot G. Paris saying you have to be Aryan to produce a national epic, except in the sense that the Arabs never produced a nation at all & their epic reflects this (first tribes, then a religion composed of states, never what we should call a nation). But it looks as if G. Paris had never heard of these, and generalised according; he wrote his book when he was about 20. I do not think these in Lane are so good for Digenes³ as Sidi Battal, though S.B., as we have it, is Turkish. The others do not seem to take place on the Byz. frontier at all. I note the use in all (S.B., Digenes, Arab romances) of the girl ghazi, which *after the Roland* becomes part of the ordinary machinery down to Ariosto, and even Tasso. I think myself it is a sign of rather jaded literary taste, but you evidently get the *thing* all right even now, & it is used sentimentally of course in *τὸς εἶδε ψάρι στὸ Βουνό*.⁴ In real life, this female pallicar⁵ is *not*, I imagine, a person to sentimentalise about—or they would be having babies all over the shop of course—but pretty hard lots. Old Mrs. Bouboulina,⁶ they say, was a horrid old *gria*,⁷ who would run any risk to get the *stuff*.

¹ *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, ii (1880), pp. 256-351.

² London, 1871, ii, 137 ff.

³ See above, p. 41.

⁴ *Who saw a fish in the mountains?* a well known Greek folksong.

⁵ *Παλληκάρη* = young hero.

⁶ An old woman who took part in the Greek Revolution against the Turks.

⁷ *Γραιά* = old woman.

Did it ever happen in the W.? I should doubt it, as this novelty was part of the success of Joan of Arc. I think it *did* happen in a certain phase of Arab Society, & I believe the ancient Turks had their women knights.¹

Leysin,

23rd April, 1919.

I have got Sale's Koran for keeps & have again looked up the passage (and S's. commentary) on the miraculous meal of Christ.² It is as usual a muddle of several ideas, but amongst other things Mahom. says it was commemorated as a feast by the Xtians. I suppose there was a special service at Easter in the Cenaculum, where, of course, *the table* was kept. Probably on account of this passage in the Koran, the Cenaculum was fitted with a *mihrab* when the Mos. took it over in the xvi century.

It is immensely *possible* your ghazis³ are supposed to be of the Arab period, it only needs a dream and there are plenty dervishes with nothing more pressing on hand at Fortezza.⁴

Re temple sunk in the earth and Elias sacrificing in it, I don't know the Grail well enough to say, but certainly the Grail temple is based on the temple of the Lord (es-Sakhra) under the Crusaders. There is no mention of what happened to the ark after the 1st fall of Jerus., but it is never heard of again. The Jews think it was deposited by Josiah in a secret hiding place prepared by Solomon⁵ (by commenting on II Chron. xxxv. 3). This and the mysterious hollow rock (Sakhra) and substructures of the Haram evidently start the idea. And from it, with slight alteration, comes the yarn

¹ Cf. Bordeaux, *La Bosnie Populaire*, p. 174, for an example among the Turks of Bosnia.

² P. 87: see above, p. 187.

³ Professor Dawkins had mentioned some tombs of supposed *ghazis* in Crete.

⁴ A Cretan village near Candia, where there was a *tekke*.

⁵ See above, p. 187.

of S. Sophia ; here the priest with the sacred vessel does not need to go *underground*, but vanishes into the wall of the (still intact) building, where he has a service at least yearly, as you know.

Yours of 31 March. I do not take the Hassan el Basri story¹ very literally, I think. What really happened was more likely some fool of a mason had set the tomb askew, so that one corner came very near the wall. Afterwards an angel or Khidr or some one told a holy man the reason. Hassan out of humanity had declined, etc., etc., but by the divine will his purpose was frustrated, and NOW you not only go round but you stand a good chance of being miraculously squashed as well ! I need hardly say there is no authority for this, but that is the *kind* of thing for which there is a local demand.

About Gideon's fleece,² my idea is that the B.V. may, or may not, be represented in the type, *she* was already there as it was her church to start with. This particular picture, perhaps because it was unusual, was interpreted into a foundation legend, just as, e.g., those nasty figures at the W. door of the Paros church³ are arbitrarily interpreted as those of the master & prentice—only here you have the *niv*-root⁴ probably to help out.

I think I meant "*sundried* brick technique" at Samara. With a sloping vault⁵ you can do lots, but to do that with sun-dried brick it wd. need to be very good mud, I think. The Samara stair is really a spiral ramp which a child could make in a sand castle.

I like your "short numbers."⁶ It is a little like the "uncountable" cedars of Lebanon, which no one ever counted twice the same—till of course some one not quite an ass came along.

¹ Above, p. 189.

² Above, pp. 189-90.

³ F.W.H. in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), p. 135.

⁴ In *ad Nives*.

⁵ Professor Dawkins had instanced the campaniles of Venice and Torcello which are so built.

⁶ Professor Dawkins had found examples of this well known *motif* in Crete.

Leysin,

28th April, 1919.

A very simple explanation occurs to me of Castello dell'Uovo¹ at Naples. If it was in the regular run of Oriental talisman-castles, I think it would have turned up before now further east. But I believe in Greece a small rocky islet is sometimes called *Αἶγος*—are there not some near Crete?²—which would be a good explanation & probably checkable (if true) by analogy, if I had a good map.

Do you know a story about a fairy castle called the Castle of the Sparrow Hawk? You found in it a hawk on a perch, which had to watch 3 days & nights, then had a wish from the fairy lady occupant (Schiltberger³ and Mandeville⁴ knew exactly where this castle was). I don't see the point of the *hawk*, do you? As it was on a perch, it could not get away, however slack your watch was.

Do you know *Rev.* vi. 9 about souls of the martyrs being under the altar, which is the reason relics are put in, or under, R.C. altars to this day? Is not Revelation now supposed to be Xtian. on a Jewish basis? At any rate the imagery is very Jewish. I note, as a curiosity at least, that there is still a "Well of Souls" under the Sakhra,⁵ *which occupies the site of the altar of Sacrifice*, and that, according to some Moslem divines, the souls of the just rest in the well of Zem-Zem till the day of Judgment.

Leysin,

7th May, 1919.

I have not been so well lately as usual, now bucking up, & the fine weather seems now to have come, so shall get on faster.

I had a letter ready for you, & I *suppose* it is you I have

¹ See above, p. 97.

² There is one N.E. of Candia.

³ Ed. Telfer, p. 41.

⁴ Ed. Wright, p. 202.

⁵ Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, p. 254.

to thank for the Παράδοσις,¹ which came a few days ago to my great pleasure, and I have read them quite a bit.

Did you ever hear that the temple of Jerusalem was so holy that flies never settled² on the sacrifices there, though they did in heathen temples? I suspect there is a sly hit at B. Zebub, and should not be surprised if ultimately Virgil's flyless market³ (I am sure it was flyless first, the trick being done with the famous fly, made in the "first state" for "Marcello") went back there in the end. The germs of most things of that sort begin on the temple area, the Solomonic tradition being irresistible &, through the Jews, of course common to Xtians. & Mosl.

Leysin,

11th May, 1919.

I noticed that Lane not only made the sketches for his book, but *drew them on the wood*: some are quite charming merely as pictures, & he did know his stuff, I cribbed pages.

The S. Niketas⁴ Cretan story is in Polites,⁵ I think. Wasn't he the evangelist of the Mainotes?⁶ I can quite imagine the Mainotes thinking piracy very wicked! Cf. brother Boche over the way. If you once get the yarn about S. Niketas, any church of his is a potential site of the miracle.

About Amazons,⁷ it seems to me in the West you have two fairly distinct real types, Joan of Arc, not a fighter, but a saint (or witch), and Mary Ambree, the tough & beany female. In Arabia, war was not really awfully serious for men, I expect, cantering about & that, anyway for the nobles. A young nut & a beautiful girl were really very much the same

¹ Parts I and II of Polites' *Μελέται*.

² I cannot give a reference for this.

³ See above, pp. 96-7.

⁴ Professor Dawkins had sent F.W.H. a Cretan story in which S. Niketas had rescued a Greek girl captured by Turks.

⁵ See Polites, *Μελέται*, i, 111-2, and note.

⁶ 3rd April.

⁷ Cf. above, pp. 204-5.

to look at, as the Nights shew all through—Lady Duff Gordon¹ met an emancipated & aristocratic Arab girl she took for a man—and the fighting nut could probably *really* be smitten with, and marry, the Amazon: whereas Joan of Arc was *tabu*, and Mary Ambree not wanted in this connection. Of course, as you say, one was *dévôte*, the other *virago*, neither natural women. The western Amazon in Ariosto, etc. is a complete fake. The Bouboulina & the mountain-fish² in real life are really the Ambree variety. I cannot place these chubby Russian peasant women that fought in the war, but suspect they are *dévôtes* in spite of their appearance.

Leysin,

22nd May, 1919.

I haven't much news, but write to keep the ball rolling. To tell the truth, I have not been feeling so well lately, perhaps the abrupt change of weather, & haven't done so much reading, I think.

I have had from my brother Wavell's *Mecca*, which is very good & unpretentious, and from Prof. Montet³ at Geneva Mouliéras' *Maroc Inconnu*, a most curious & interesting work which Montet used for his pamphlet on Moslem saints: he certainly got all the best pieces, & I did not find so much as I expected on that head. Two things struck me particularly, one of which may interest you perhaps, à propos of Viza.⁴ Among the Riffs he says there is a carnival play⁵ they do three times a year at religious festivals in the streets. He describes this in great detail: it is grossly obscene in the first place, much worse than that side of the Viza do of course, and that is to be expected. But it is extraordinary to me that in a Mahommedan country the call to prayer & prayer itself

¹ *Letters from Egypt*, pp. 96-8: cf. p. 188.

² See above, p. 204.

³ See above, p. 113.

⁴ See above, p. 57.

⁵ Mouliéras, i, 107 ff.

should be allowed to be shamelessly parodied. It reminds one, of course, of the *Fête des Fous* & *Fête de l'Ane*¹ in mediæval Europe.

The other thing is that the Moors have the same idea as the Christians that the Jews steal Mahommedan children, murder them, & use their blood for the Passover bread.² It may well of course have come from Spain, where they have at least one "little S. Hugh" saint. Further, they are supposed to make wax images of Christ & Mahommed & stick pins into them, and to catch Mahommedans, when they get the chance, put out their eyes & make them turn the mill for the rest of their lives³: a curious reminiscence (?) of Samson among the Philistines. It may be that, as both Jews & Mahom. practise circumcision, they do not pitch on it as a curious custom, which has to be treated in a mysterious & blood-curdling way.⁴

Did you ever notice the little block of Caxton, Tregaskis uses for his advts.⁵ in Litt. Suppt.? C. is wearing the Janissary headdress, afterwards associated with the sleeve of Hadji Bektash,⁶ really, of course, the end of a fool's cap falling outside a stiff *calpak*. Our hussars, whose uniform, I believe, derives from Hungary, had it in a still more degraded form till recently, a flap of a different colour sewn down on one side of the headgear. It is interesting to note that Caxton was about the time Turkish fashions were modish, owing amongst other things, to Pr. Djem being in Europe,⁷ & I believe they figure in Italian paintings of this date quite a lot—Pr. Djem himself of course in a Roman fresco.⁸

Have you any ideas about Jachin & Boaz, the brass pillars placed by Hiram of Tyre before Solomon's temple?⁹

¹ See A. Maury, *Magie et Astrologie*, p. 160, n. 3.

² Mouliéras, ii, 468.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. above, p. 199.

⁵ On the last page of the "Times Literary Supplement."

⁶ J. von Hammer, *Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman*, ed. Hellert, i, 123 f.

⁷ Von Hammer, *op. cit.* iii, 366-374. Prince Jem was brother to Bayezid II (1481-1512) and was in Europe 1488-95.

⁸ Pinturicchio depicted Prince Jem in a fresco, now defaced, in the Castello S. Angelo (E. Muntz, *Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance*, Paris, 1891, ii, 729).

⁹ *I Kings*, vii, 21.

I can only get at Hastings Encycl. of Religion, & that is not a good article. Rendel Harris, I suppose, makes them Dioscuri as usual. They were evidently a feature copied from the Phenician temple, and I think in this connection they are called phallic¹ or something. You have the same things in Egypt in the obelisks placed at the entrance of temples.² I rather suspect they were originally, in a quite simple, open-air precinct, the gate-posts marking the limits of the sacred ground, thus both gate-posts & boundary stones. I believe they are frequently figured on Phenician coins³ (must ask Hill) and turn up again, rather curiously, beside the altar of Rome & Augustus at Lyons.⁴ The idea of the two columns as a formal entry recurs at Mecca, which, I suppose, reproduces many such ancient Semitic features. Wavell says⁵ the boundary of the holy territory is marked by two columns, as you go from Djidda to Meccah, & there are also two columns, between which it is obligatory to pass on the return from Arafat.⁶ Then you have the columns of Hercules at Gib. These, of course, form again an entrance, but also (and principally perhaps) *support the heavens*, reverting to the ultimate symbolism of the column. I expect these correspond to the temple-columns of Hercules Melcarth at Gades or some Phenician colony. Maybe the two ideas were vaguely present—the column as a support and the two columns as a (sacred) gate. In the same way, though all this is very speculative, the talisman columns (Consple, Venice) ward off catastrophe from the sky and S. Symeon Stylites is a living talisman, who *by prayer* averts the wrath of God. In Jachin⁷ & Boaz⁸, to judge by their names, the supporting motif is predominant. It is curious to note, as remote descendants of the entrance motif, the pair of columns (where we should

¹ See, e.g. J. Rendel Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 251, n. 1, and n. on this passage (p. 407).

² Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, i, pp. 348-9, fig. 207.

³ B.M. Cat. coins of Phenicia, pl. xxii, 18: cf. G. F. Hill in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxxi (1911), pp. 60-1.

⁴ D'Heumezel, *Lyon*, p. 5, cf. p. 32.

⁵ *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, p. 158.

⁶ Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i, 113.

⁷ *He shall establish* (marginal note on *I Kings*, vii, 21).

⁸ *In it is strength* (*id.*).

expect a monumental arch) flanking the Via Appia at Brindisi,¹ and the "columns of Hercules" flanking the entrance of the Alameda at Seville.² The *direct* parentage of these is, of course, the adoption of the Columns of Hercules & *plus ultra* as a badge of Charles V³ (before, by the way, Spain held both Gib. & Ceuta). But they take a fresh colour from their actually bearing statues of Hercules the founder, & J. Cæsar, the re-founder, of Seville itself!⁴

I think all this sounds much wilder than it really is till you remember we are always dealing with Semites and peoples within easy range of infection from them. It is not to be supposed that they held the same ideas as the Semites as to the symbolism, but anything is better, & in most cases likelier, than phallic business.⁵

Leysin,

23rd May, 1919.

My point about Zem-zem⁶ is rather that it depends probably, more or less directly, on the Bir-el-Arwah⁷ at Jerusalem. It is radically different from the long series of underground hells, purgatories, & (immoral generally) fairy-lands, and is analogous rather to the Terrestrial Paradise, though muddled up with the "blood of the righteous Zechariah," I expect at Jerusalem in the first place. He, by the way, is responsible, I believe, for the miracle of John Baptist's head⁸ continually bleeding. John & Zechariah are badly mixed in the Koran,

¹ Baedeker (*Southern Italy*, 1903, p. 213).

² C. Schmidt, *Sevilla*, p. 10.

³ J. Siebmacher, *Wappenbuch* (Nürnberg, 1909), p. 6 and pl. 7 (2).

⁴ Schmidt, *loc. cit.*

⁵ For superstitions connected with columns see F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v. *columnn*.

⁶ Above, p. 207.

⁷ *Well of Souls*.

⁸ See, e.g. Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, p. 80, n. 1: Hottinger, *Historia Orientalis*, p. 147.

& a double tradition seems to exist at Damascus à propos of the saint buried in the Great Mosque.¹

Here is a thing after your own heart. You remember Antigone says how much she prefers a brother to a husband? I ran across, in Mary Rogers' book on Palestine,² a true (?) story of a woman of Palestine whose husband, son, & brother were all taken for the army. She went to Ibrahim Pasha and said, might she have *one* out? He said, which? She said, brother: he said, why? & she improvised a set of verses to the effect that, if husband or child were killed, she could get others, whereas her brother could not be replaced, because her parents were too old. It must be a good old literary tag & likely was so in Soph's. day, too!

If you do get Rambaud³ in Charing X Rd., it will probably be chucked in among the "foreign" (and therefore useless) books, & priced 4d., at which price I secured Fallmerayer's *Fragmente*,⁴ 2nd ed., well bound!

I don't put any money on Castello dell'Uovo⁵ being *Αἶγος*: the queer little inner port at Naples (do you know?) is called *Mandrachio*, but I daresay this was all over the Mediterranean.

I have a rather good magic mirror story from Baalbek.⁶ My Palestine lady's brother told them "Jane Eyre" (of all things), and heard it afterwards retold (rather well) by a local man, who had no idea where it had come from.⁷ The Arabs' version must be curious!

¹ See above, p. 26.

² *La Vie Domestique en Palestine*, p. 351. I heard the same sentiment expressed in Macedonia.

³ *Etudes sur l'Histoire Byzantine*.

⁴ *Fragmente aus dem Orient*.

⁵ See above, p. 207.

⁶ C. Huart, *Konia* (Paris, 1897), p. 496.

⁷ M. E. Rogers, *La Vie Domestique en Palestine*, p. 129. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 306-7, gives an Arab version of the "Merchant of Venice" in which Portia is disguised as a Turkish soldier.

Leysin,

29th May, 1919.

I have heard from a Greek friend here, there is a new book on Nasr-ed-din Hodja by a Fr. man named Mille; you may be interested. I believe it is to be seen *here*, & have put my wife on its track. (Seems merely scurrilous.)

Why did the Janissaries overturn their kettles when annoyed? Because their first grievance was the quality of their pilaf? Or as a symbol that camp was broken and there was a war on?

Am very interested in story of the Dev (Kallikantzaros, Neraid¹) attended by human midwife. Does it occur in Cappadogger? I have 11 instances of the same tale various parts of Greece (Polites²) and Tripoli Syr.³ (pl. 29). In 3 the *name* of the midwife is given, so she is clearly a real person, though the adventure is as clearly "stock."

Leysin,

9th June, 1919.

Thank you for your letter of June 3. I am a bit better these 3 days, I think, shall no doubt go right, when something or other happens to the weather.

I suspect liripipes and H. Bektash's sleeve⁴ are the same thing all right, but the development is not complicated.

For your Machæras studies you remember of course that a Major Tankerville Chamberlayne's *Lacrimæ Nicosienses* has a lot of Frankish gravestones in it. And there is a recent edition of de la Brocquière, I think by Schefer,⁵ who usually gives very full notes & may give something on B. de B.'s

¹ The Modern Greek form.

² *Μελέται*, nos. 402, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 794, 795, 796, 797: the name is given in 640, 795, 797.

³ Kelly, *Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 107 (quoting Michaud and Poujoulat).

⁴ Professor Dawkins had written that the Caxton's headdress mentioned above (p. 210) was rather a medieval hood with a liripipe.

⁵ *Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. Schefer, Paris, 1892.

meeting with Machæras—a passage I have mentioned to you.¹

Your *Pontica*² is a long job, but there is so much satisfaction in getting things straight. Are the tales better or worse than the Cappadogs' ?³ That sort of thing is, I think, very disappointing. One comes to the conclusion more & more that the wonderful popular spirit which imbues them, is not there. As early as you can see, there is always the superior mind (story-teller, bard, poet, novelist, what you like), who is the *real* creator: the people's part is gradually to muddle it up again & generally make hay of it, till another superior mind comes along & makes a new version or combination. Literature as opposed to burbling. When popular & literary composition become separated, the former has a bad time, because the best contemp. minds only act on it in an indirect way *via* ordinary minds, & often many: the man who would have done it proud, can generally move up socially somehow, & probably does: and he is apt to get a bit of a snob in the process, this kind of man.

Lear, I believe, prided himself on his accuracy of landscape. Did he delude himself, or were others worse at his time? "Pulling things up" is of course very hard to avoid; I expect you have found yourself doing it before now.

Leysin,

15th June, 1919.

I have got Antoninus of Piacenza⁴ from Zurich, as I hoped, and am getting interesting things about the miracle of the bleeding crucifix at Beyrout⁵ and other matters, among which a (to me) new reference to the Holy Sepulchre as "in modum metæ"⁶ (570) and another c. 1165 "*fere rotundam habet*

¹ Above, p. 66.

² A book Professor Dawkins had proposed to write.

³ In Professor Dawkins' *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*.

⁴ *De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler.

⁵ See above, p. 199.

⁶ Antoninus, 21, xviii.

formam.¹¹ The Aquileia *sepulcro*² is of course round with a pyramidal roof. Baedeker says³ it was made 1031, and the H.S. church began to be rebuilt (after its destruction by Hakim) 1090. The original sepulchre (1) seems to have had engaged columns, probably burnt out or carried away and replaced by the colonnettes reproduced in the Aquileia copy. This was H.S. II, replaced by the Crusaders early XII, theirs (III) lasting till the fire of 1808, when the present atrocity was built.⁴ (II) probably copied its roof from (I), *in modum metæ*, being, I suppose, *conical* or *pyramidal*, the shape of a *meta* in the circus.

Did I tell you Petro had lent me B.D. Zotos Molottos' Λεξικὸν τῶν Ἀγίων, as it contains a lot of neo-martyrs otherwise to be found only in Νέον Μαρτυρολόγιον & scarce old Ἀκολουθίαι⁵? Did you know that, when S. George of Yannina was martyred, a Turkish woman stole his stocking & did miracles with it⁶? I wonder if she regarded him as a saint, or a criminal, or merely as a person who had met with a violent death⁷?

I have also found the S. Nicetas miracle⁸ (as you might expect) of S. Demetrius,⁹ who rescued from slavery a bishop of Damala (1603). The bishop was made to rock the *bey's* baby and used to sing:—

Ἐπίσκοπε τοῦ Δαμαλά, δίχως νοῦ δίχως μυαλά,
Τὰ μικρὰ δὲν ᾔθελες, τὰ μεγάλα γύρευες.
Τράβα Γέρω κουτεντέ, κούνα καὶ τὸν Μπεύζαντέ.¹⁰

From which you see he was not a very good poet. Do you know this word *κουτεντής*? It is the name they give in some parts (as proper name apparently) to the Wandering Jew¹¹

¹ Arculph in Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, p. 229.

² See above, p. 87.

³ *Northern Italy* (1899), p. 311.

⁴ For these see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* (1906), p. 36.

⁵ *Offices*.

⁶ Zotos Molottos, p. 368.

⁷ For this see F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v. *death*.

⁸ See above, p. 208.

⁹ Zotos Molottos, pp. 391-2.

¹⁰ *Bishop of Damala, senseless, mindless creature,
Little things you didn't want, big things you sought,
On you go, silly old guy : rock the squireen's baby boy.*

¹¹ See above, p. 202.

(Φῶτο Ντὲς in Epirus), and I can't at all make it out. Here it seems to me no more than a self-pitying "silly old fool" (κουτὸς¹ is evidently there), but the *Bey* thought it was very nice, & the bp. told him it was a prayer for the child he was rocking—a real bumpkin joke, quaintly placed among the Molossian hagiographies.

Leysin,

21st June, 1919.

Thank you very much for your meaty effort of 14th, full of good things for me. That *is* the midwife story² I am after all right. It seems to come all over Greece, and I have it also in Syria,³ though not so good *yet*. It is of course midwives (being *greas*⁴ of the most confidential type), who would make the flesh of the young creep with such yarns, and in a relatively large number of cases the midwife, to whom the adventure happened, is named or known, which is a very interesting point. The heroine often gets her eye poked out, so any one-eyed midwife would be marked out for the role.

The Digenes & magic stag⁵ is very interesting, tho' the setting is of course different. I have now Père Delehayé's new article on Eustace,⁶ very learned & exceedingly well balanced. I quite agree with him, the Buddhist version is not a direct but a remote ancestor of the Xtian. legend, but I think the idea is probably Buddhist all right. He is out defending a minor position, as theories have been put forward on the same lines about the Temptation.

I have only read Hutton (who is very good & illuminating)

¹ *Stupid*.

² Above, p. 214.

³ Above, p. 214, n. 3.

⁴ *Old women*.

⁵ Professor Dawkins had sent F.W.H. two references to passages in which Digenes Akritas ascribes his death to having killed a strange deer with a cross between its horns. The passages are in *Λαογραφία*, i, 224 (from Eubœa) and i, 226 (from Epirus).

⁶ *La Légende de Saint Eustache*, Brussels, 1919.

about T. à Becket.¹ The position seems to have been that in his diocese he was, as a strong man is apt to be, both loved & hated. While alive, the Pope didn't altogether approve of him; his death not only disembarassed Rome, but gave an excellent "oppression" war cry. Among the people, it probably counted for much that he was a consecrated priest, sacrilegiously killed in a striking (& *bloody*) way. So he had all the chances & (as the saying is) "went everywhere" after death.

Did I tell you I was reading Zotos' *Lexicon*?² There are some unique spellings, e.g. οἰκόνευσεν, "he took up his quarters," from κοιεύω=*konmak* (root of *konak*³), which a judicious treatment has made appear Hellenicotatous.

Leysin,

2nd July, 1919.

I have no news in particular and will descend to the weather no further than to say it is very broken.

I go on reading & writing, & now a little drawing, & have made "thaumatropes" for my Caledonian nephewlets. I suppose you remember a very ancient toy of that name, a card with a horse one side and its rider the other, & you twiddle it with a string and they come together? They seem to be unknown in Σκοτίη.

Kind Zurich sent me Burckhardt's *Syria* all right, & it has many good things, as he really knew Arabic of course. Some very good information on Yourouk tribes in the Aleppo dist.,⁴ whom he visited. Interesting to note that certain of them kept fellahs on the tramp with them to do the dirty work of agriculturists! I thought of the Afshars & Pharasa.⁵ The range of some of these tribes is immense, e.g., winter

¹ Hutton, *English Saints*, pp. 238 ff.

² Above, p. 216.

³ Cf. above, p. 16.

⁴ Appendix I.

⁵ See F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v. *Afshar*.

season near Antioch, summer, with intermediate halts, in Angora or Sivas vilayet. Some of those B. came across were tributary to Chapanoğlu of Yuzgat,¹ who must have been in his time a handy man for travellers to know. I wish we knew more about him, but Yuzgat is as near world's end as maybe still—& will be, till the rail comes that way.

*Re λίθος ἐλευθερίας*² :—

“On the summit of the mountain on our left, I observed a singular rock called Shekeik el Donia, or Hadjar el Kontara; my guide told me that the time would certainly come when some Frank nation would invade this country, & that, on reaching this rock, they would be completely routed” (Antilibanus) Burckhardt, J.L., *Travels in Syria*, 208.

Qanthar=*balance*, evidently a rocking stone.

Leysin,

7th July, 1919.

Yet another sheet in answer to your welcome letter of the 2nd. Thank you for the reference to Felix Fabri³: this is the Palestine Pilgrims' text Soc. I think, and rarely found separate. I have Hassler's Latin text handy & have read it a lot. It is reputed the most interesting pilgrimage of his time, lots of good things in it, as I believe I have noted in this voluminous correspondence.

The Nero & S. Maria del popolo story⁴ is in Hare and Baedeker. It seems to be a good example of the “disinfectant” sanctuary. I am inclined to think despite the (recognisedly later) yarn that this was why Michael was stuck on Hadrian's Mausoleum,⁵ especially as he appears to have been also on the Mausoleum of the Augusti. The contemporary (?) account of

¹ Cf. above, p. 14.

² See above, p. 182.

³ Professor Dawkins had referred F.W.H. to Aubrey Stuart's translation of Fabri, which was published in four volumes in 1892-3.

⁴ i.e. that the church was built to lay the ghost of Nero, which was supposed to walk there. See Hare, *Walks in Rome*, 1, 13.

⁵ Castello San Angelo: see Murray's *Hand-Book of Rome*, p. 232.

the S. Angelo miracle seems to be that the plague was stopped by a Panagia picture in procession.¹ The other² is quite obviously taken from David seeing the angel of destruction sheathing his sword over the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite I Chron. version.³ But the legend is quite early & probably contributes to Gargano to make M. a saint of the heights—*only*, mark you, after he had come W.⁴

What we agree on about "folk" poesy is borne out by modern conditions. I heard the other day of a peasant woman in a Greek colony of S. Russia, who was a perfect genius at tale-telling, & very witty. Others are mentioned in Sicily by Marc Monnier.⁵ These people doubtless adapted old themes like their more sophisticated brothers. The real difference is only one of station, which decides manner & personality of the artist. But they are artists all right, & are labelled folk-singers, because, like other artists, they represent a best of their surroundings, as well as putting their personality into it. Probably personality is expressed less by words in this *milieu* than by gesture & mimicry, approaching the art of the actor, which is likewise not transmissible really to posterity on this ground. Great actors, unlike great poets, are dead for the first generation that has not seen them. Possibly gramophone & cinema may eventually do something for them.

It is curious thundery weather, not good for me at all, & I am doing quite well considering, though not as well as I would like. I hope soon to sit down⁶ & get some of my stuff roughed out. I have fine materials for several articles, & when I have not enough, I can work the leading ideas into footnotes, which won't be hardly criticised. I project Round Church & Temple, The Renegade Saint, Helios-Elias-S. George-Khidr, The Miracle of El Bedawi, The Chains of Sin,

¹ De Voragine, *Légende Dorée*, tr. Wyzewa, p. 168.

² *Sc.* the story that during the great plague of 590 S. Michael appeared to Gregory the Great, sheathing his sword in token that the plague was ended (Murray, *loc. cit.*).

³ xxi, 15 ff.

⁴ See above, p. 86.

⁵ *Contes Populaires en Italie*, pp. 6-9.

⁶ This is figurative: F.W.H. had been confined to bed since December, 1918.

Notes on *Incubatio*, The Columns of Paradise,¹ & many addns. to work already begun.

I have a book on mediæval preaching² & find to my satisfaction that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were in some way edited for the clergy. I knew they were much read in the Middle Ages, & there are certain legends of saints, particularly Silly Solomon of Folgoët³ & the 15 other examples of his miracle,⁴ which seem to me to derive from it. S.S. comes from Hyacinthus, and I should not be surprised if S. George's dragon legend in its western form (*post*-Crusade) came *direct* from this source. Perseus, I suppose, figures in the ingenious Tomito. There is much more in it⁵ of course, but it seems to me more likely than a survival, seeing that Lydda, so near Joppa, did not locate the dragon fight there, the place commonly shown being Beyrout in the (Frankish) country of Tripoli.⁶

Leysin,

20th July, 1919.

Thank you for your letter of the 14th which arrived yesterday. It was very interesting, and I am glad you liked the λίθος ἐλευθερίας⁷ business. Tell me if you find out what Shekiket means or whatever the word was.

I am after Sozomenus & Evagrius⁸ as sources of stock motifs in Acta SS. Not many getable books I want now, except very badly Khitrovo's Russian pilgrimages (Soc.⁹

¹ F.W.H. succeeded in sketching first drafts of the first (below, pp. 233-243), second, and last of these proposed articles, but the others had to be written up from his letters and scattered notes before being included in his *Christianity and Islam*.

² Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Française au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1886), p. 302.

³ See above, p. 129.

⁴ Busk, *Valleys of Tirol*, p. 216, n. 1: cf. de Voragine, *Légende Dorée*, tr. Wyzewa, p. 196.

⁵ In the dragon legend of S. George.

⁶ See F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v. *Rogations*.

⁷ Above, p. 219.

⁸ In Cousin, see below, p. 222, n. 4.

⁹ *Itinéraires Russes*, Geneva, 1889.

Orient. Lat.), which I despair of getting (FWH. procured 3/- for BSA.¹ but *he* was a great man).

My big brother says Shekeik-el-Donia² probably means "Shatterer" or "Cleaver" of the world. Might verify by J.D.³ Symbolism seems to be that when the balance of a natural rocking stone is disturbed, it is a sign of a similar crash, here in the political order. Kantara must, I think, mean *balance*, not *bridge*, here, & I think it is the original meaning.

Leysin,

8th August, 1919.

I am now getting up daily, collar & all. Work is at rather a low ebb, but from the *Hist. Eccl.*⁴ I have got the beginnings (vi. c.) of the Ritual Murder slander against the Jews. The Bleeding Crucifix of Beyrout by the way (it comes into the story) was cited, presumably as an argument for the *icons*, in the second council of Nicaea, shortly after it bled. So I spotted its bearing all right.⁵ The Lucca crop I think affiliates. I wonder if there was an export of warranted original bleeding crosses from Beyrout, blessing both him that gave & him that took? But probably the story grew up round the Lucca one locally. It may be of Syrian origin.

I am sure Rhodes⁶ is a good egg every way. Civilisation only touches the town, and they had Catholic schools very late. For its size & wealth it is a backward place. Look out, though, for Mos. infiltration via Egypt, as the Lindians go down there in the fruit season, and probably the plate habit was picked up (with the plates⁷) direct from there, or perhaps Syria. The meltems⁸ take them to Alexandria in one, but I expect they have to potter back often enough, & wd. gladly take cargo for Syrian ports to help them along.

¹ British School at Athens, an allusion to his librarian days.

² Above, p. 219.

³ Mr. J. M. Dawkins.

⁴ Cousin's *Histoire de l'Eglise*, ii, p. 407 (from Socrates, *sub* Theodosius).

⁵ Above, p. 199.

⁶ Professor Dawkins was at this time planning a trip to Rhodes.

⁷ For "Rhodian" plates see above, p. 17.

⁸ N.E. winds that blow only at certain seasons in the East Mediterranean.

Leysin,

17th August, 1919.

Thank you for your letter of Aug. 11. We have been having a heat-wave, which submerged me rather badly for a day or two, but am now better.

I am interested in the At Meidan scheme,¹ but do not believe in it at all. You *might* by a fluke get a pukka thing, but the Achmediyeh occupies the interesting side (palace connections), and I should think all the soil there is over the rubble sub-structure has been turned over again & again. The curved end was of course exposed a good deal by the fire before the war. From the scanty records of the xvi. c. (an article I think in *Jahrbuch*²), it is quite clear that the Hippodrome was continuously in use, not like the Forum abandoned for a long period after a disaster.

I found the other day, à propos of your aged Xtian. protégé³ of the Janissaries, in Zotos Molottos' *Lexicon tōn agiōn* p. 103, evidently quoting a contemporary life of S. Athanasios of Kios +1670, the Turks tried to foist a tax supposed to be applied to Tk. and Xtians. alike on the latter only, δέχως νὰ ἦτον οὔτε γεανήτσαροι οὔτε σπαχίδες,⁴ so it looks as if there was some wheeze for Xtians. to join up with the Jan. & Spahis to avoid avanies.

We had the Weef Librarian⁵ last week-end, I hardly knew him before, he is very interested in languages & is slowly working out Etruscan. As he has some knowledge of 22 lingoes & is an expert decipherer of other folks' codes, I should think he has as good a chance as any one else, and has humour too. His book on Cryptography you might like (A. Langie,⁶ *De la Cryptographie*, Paris, Payot, 4.50).

¹ This was a suggestion that the British School at Athens should excavate the At Meidan at Constantinople.

² Dr. Theodor Wiegand, "Der Hippodrom von Konstantinopel" in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, xxiii (1908), pp. 1-11.

³ A Cretan who, though Christian, was semi-officially affiliated to the Janissaries and so escaped being harried by them.

⁴ Without their being either janissaries or spahis.

⁵ Of the Faculté de Théologie Libre at Lausanne.

⁶ The book is extremely amusing. Dr. Langie is the celebrated cipher expert of Switzerland, who warned the Allies that their cipher telegrams were being read and their contents passed on by the "Two Colonels" to the Germans.

Leysin,

31st August, 1919.

Have you seen the *Corriere*¹ says they have discovered (Bolchis) 1000 cases of paintings & sculptures in 3 of the Imperial palaces, which have never been opened? One of the palaces in question Tsarskoie Selo, which was partly built by that illustrious tromperess Katharine II. All I have yet got about the contents of the cases is that the pictures include works by Fragonard, Latour, & Tiepolo. All these, mark you, of Cath. I's time & very fashionable, so I theorise the 1000 cases were her furnishings, Fragonard providing Cupids, Latour ancestors, and Tiepolo perhaps rorty ceilings for the swell rooms. It would be in the Russian manner to order 3 or 4 dozen of each, not ask (or pay) the price, and be so bored, when the goods were delivered, or so taken up with (say) the colonisation of Kamskatka, as never to open the cases.

What was Catherine's sculpture? It might, and probably on the other analogy is, fauns, cupids, nymphs, etc. executed by French artists to make Tsarskoie Selo look as much like Versailles (if possible, more so in quantity) as possible. On the other hand, it may include marbles sent by Alexis Orloff's² people from the Aegean, perhaps even Pasch van Krienen's "tomb of Homer."³ Speculation is a cheap amusement.

Leysin,

8th September, 1919.

Thank you very much for yours of the 3rd, just to hand. We are not done with the heat unfortunately, so my temp. still keeps me rather swabbish.

I did not know the Greeks had Boccaccio translated so

¹ *C. della Sera.*

² The Russian agent who in 1770 fomented a rising of the Greeks of Greece against the Turks.

³ Count Pasch van Krienen, a Dutchman in Russian service in 1771, professed to find the tomb of Homer on the island of Ios: see H. F. Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean*, pp. 87-8.

early,¹ & printed. They must have been very rich outside the church (which I had not realised), to want such things. Was there a trans. of Ariosto² about the same date? I suppose Erotocritos³ comes from that (Boiardo-Ariosto) strain. Geo. III of course must have simply revelled in early modern Greek incunables.

Leysin,

16th September, 1919.

I am a bit better since the weather turned cooler (yesterday), & hope it stays so.

I have had the Travels of Rabbi Petachia, but did not get very much, and yesterday took my notes on Talmud, which (from Polano's⁴ selections) do not amount to very much. Did I tell you the plot of "Everyman" was in it?⁵ And a variant of the 7 Maccabees,⁶ just as obviously a school piece as Josephus, but different, the structure being similar to that of the Temptation, an appropriate text confuting the tyrant each time as the devil. Josephus gives them, each of the 7, a par. of theology and a par. of abuse. There is rather a nice legend about Alexander being refused entry to Paradise,⁷ wh. confirms me in thinking that rabbinical discussions as to his ultimate fate gave rise to the Koranic,⁸ "The Jews shall ask thee concerning Dhulkarnein"⁹ (God speaking). A. had done the Jews well & treated the temple with respect, yet remained a pagan. It is quite evident from Josephus, by the way, that the Gospel heaven and hell particularly are only (as you wd. expect) the usual Jewish (Pharisee) doctrine of Christ's time.

¹ Boccaccio's *Teseide*, printed in Greek at Venice in 1529 and once owned by George III.

² There appears to be no such translation.

³ See below, p. 227. Erotocritos wrote a romantic poem in Greek, on the European model.

⁴ London, 1877.

⁵ Pp. 317 f.

⁶ Pp. 324 ff.

⁷ P. 263.

⁸ Ed. Sale, p. 224.

⁹ "The Two-Horned," generally supposed to be Alexander the Great.

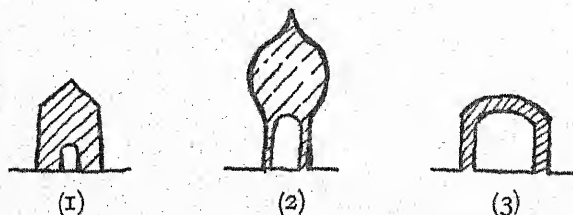
Leysin,

25th October, 1919.

Thank you for yours of the 18th which I have been slow to answer, for no better reason than that it is cold, and I have been slack generally.

They are trying a kind of operation¹ on me this week, which has done lots of people good, no hurtings or anæsthetics. I have some faith in surgery.

To fill up, what do you think of this? The chief dome forms originally are, (1) the flat dome, the primary object of which is to roof a space, probably developed, as far as we are concerned, in Mesopotamia, where they have no wood and brick, (2) the high dome, the main object of which is to be an *external* feature. This may possibly be Central Asian, probably a development of the tumulus architecturally treated. Though there is often a (relic or grave) chamber inside, it does not matter structurally, on a /c of its small proportions relatively to the tumulus, or stupa, or whatever you call it. The sections I am thinking of are (1) and (3). The Saint Sophia dome is more or less (3). By cutting away the haunches of (1) and enlarging the chamber, you get the onion dome of the Taj, etc., where the section is still more or less (2), the ceiling



dome falling far below the roof, (as in the Renaissance domes, though they arrive quite differently and aim at both an external & internal feature). I expect this is either great rot or old hay, but it amuses me in bed. By the way, I heard the Columbus egg-story told of Brunelleschi's dome. The Columbus story always seemed to me very inane, but there is lots of point in the other, B's point being that, if he shewed them his principle, they cd. easily crib, or adapt it, & call it their idea.

¹ It was a last attempt to prolong his life.

Leysin,

23rd November, 1919.

Cooler weather: temp. better.

Thank you ever so much for your letter of the 18th, the long one. What I meant about Ariosto and Erotocritos¹ is that the latter is, I suppose (I have never looked at it), in the same general trend as Ariosto or one of his predecessors. G. Paris has shewn, very interestingly, how the Roland theme developed,² really without a break, down to Ariosto & even beyond, though the whole tone changes immensely, Ariosto himself finding a quite new way of treating what was by Boiardo already a quite sham heroic setting. Ariosto's enormous popularity among common people is brought out first-hand by Monnier.³ A curious bit of psychology he had is, that a certain noted & very excellent public *reader* of Ariosto at Naples was found out by his *clientèle* to be blind & really a reciter, not a reader. *This absolutely did for him*, such is the reverence for *γράμματα* apparently, no really learned man would learn by heart, it is much more difficult & mysterious to read. They apparently quite ignored the point that, whether he read or recited, he amused them.⁴

The Thera earthquake⁵ of 1650 is fairly well documented & I didn't think worth while to include its bibliography in my note on the early ones for that reason. All before it are fairly obscure, but I did something to straighten them out, and found some new sources.

¹ See above, p. 225.

² *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne*, Paris, 1905.

³ *Contes Populaires en Italie*, p. 80.

⁴ *Id.*, pp. 78-9.

⁵ See pp. 176-181 of F.W.H.'s "Depopulation in the Ægean Islands" in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xvii (1910-1).

Leysin,

28th November, 1919.

I owe you a lot of letters & don't suppose frankly I shall ever get level.

I have Hanauer's *Folklore of the Holy Land*, which is distinctly good, though it does not pretend to be learned. I find in it the Midwife & the Djinn woman¹ very fairly set out, & some other old friends, Polites' story of Christ & the persecuting Jews being told of Nimrod pursuing Abraham.² A lot of Khidr,³ & much first hand. The *ἕν καὶ βασιλεύει* of the Greek Wandering Jew told of David,⁴ but I suspect properly of Solomon, who retained his power over the djinns after death by making them believe he was alive.⁵ It is applied also in Greek folklore to Alexander. And the G.W.J. himself made a shepherd who offended Moses⁶ (query, Talmudic in origin?). P. 58 ff. a variant (Moslem) of the 3 Unjust Acts,⁷ differing considerably from the Koranic version, but told by Mosl. in Palestine. Also a satirical tale of a sham renegade I wanted very much as an illustration of the almost superstitious respect, in which renegades, reputed automatic converts, are held by Mus.⁸

Leysin,

4th December, 1919.

I have got some good things out of P. Meyer's *Alexander*, which I have from Lausanne, bearing on Khidr & parties: but he is really too much interested in MSS. & the pedigrees of the various poems on Alexander, for what I want.

¹ Pp. 210 ff.: cf. above, p. 214.

² P. 28.

³ Pp. 51 ff.

⁴ Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*. pp. 91-2.

⁵ *Id.* pp. 49-50.

⁶ P. 42: see below, p. 230.

⁷ See above, p. 202.

⁸ Pp. 147 ff.: see above p. 113.

About the folktales,¹ I am a little vague as to whether Halliday says they are *Turkish*, or merely oriental. I shd. agree with the latter. Most of Kunos' dev—prince—princess—lala²—dervish sort of cycle is to me pretty definitely Persian in colouring, but I don't suppose there is any true border-line, as Persian meets Arab at Bagdad. For Greek tales (Polites' colln.) I am finding more & more the importance of the Talmud, many that I thought quite indigenous being Talmudic and a lot more Syrian. I feel sure Syria, with its quick-witted people, is responsible for a lot in all fields of civilisation, & it is not far from Syria to Bagdad, one of the great clearing houses, I take it, of ideas. I credit the Turks with very little. Even Nasr-ed-din of Akshehr turns up in Syria as Johha, the jester, I think, of Haroun-al-Rashid.³

I have just had a letter from van der Put about inscribed "Rhodian" plates.⁴ He cannot find *any*. I daresay because they are late & bad & not what collectors want.

Leysin,

5th December, 1919.

I am going on all right: to-day we have fiendish weather, & I am rather under it, but that always happens; *generally* I am very well, though I cannot walk even a few steps yet. This is a great bore & makes work for others, but I am all right at night & generally sleep well.

I am cooking up my article on Byron's Residence in Mytilene.⁵ The mystery of the supposed Residence has never been cleared up, so far as I can make out, except that Byron vigorously

¹ Professor Dawkins had argued that Greek folktales belonged to a Balkan, rather than a Turkish, family, as Professor Halliday had said on p. 219 of Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*. Professor Halliday had apparently not considered whether they were, or were not, of Oriental type, as F.W.H. considered them.

² *Tutor*.

³ Hanauer, *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land*, pp. 84-9.

⁴ See above, p. 17.

⁵ See above, p. 3.

denied he had ever been there. Having the clue (from a MS. note of Finlay's¹), I have got quite a convincing history of the legend.

I am trying to get along a bit with roughing out new articles, but it requires more energy than I have, specially copying out.

Leysin,

5th January, 1920.

Did I tell you I had found the Greek Wandering Jew in Syria² as a shepherd who poked fun at Moses for finking death, adding that a pore bloke like himself might well funk, but not Moses the Saint. So M. said he should go on living, which he does in great anguish of mind. The Syrian-Greek variety of the W.J. does not haunt the towns but wild country places, & is always trying to suicide over cliffs. Note that he is well-known at Kastellorizo on the sea-route from Syria. Despite Ramsay's Anatolian bridge, I believe all Eastern culture skipped Asia Minor proper, coming by sea from Syria-Phenicia to the Greek islands of Grecised coast.

Having a baddish little turn just now, due to weather. May be slack writing.

Leysin,

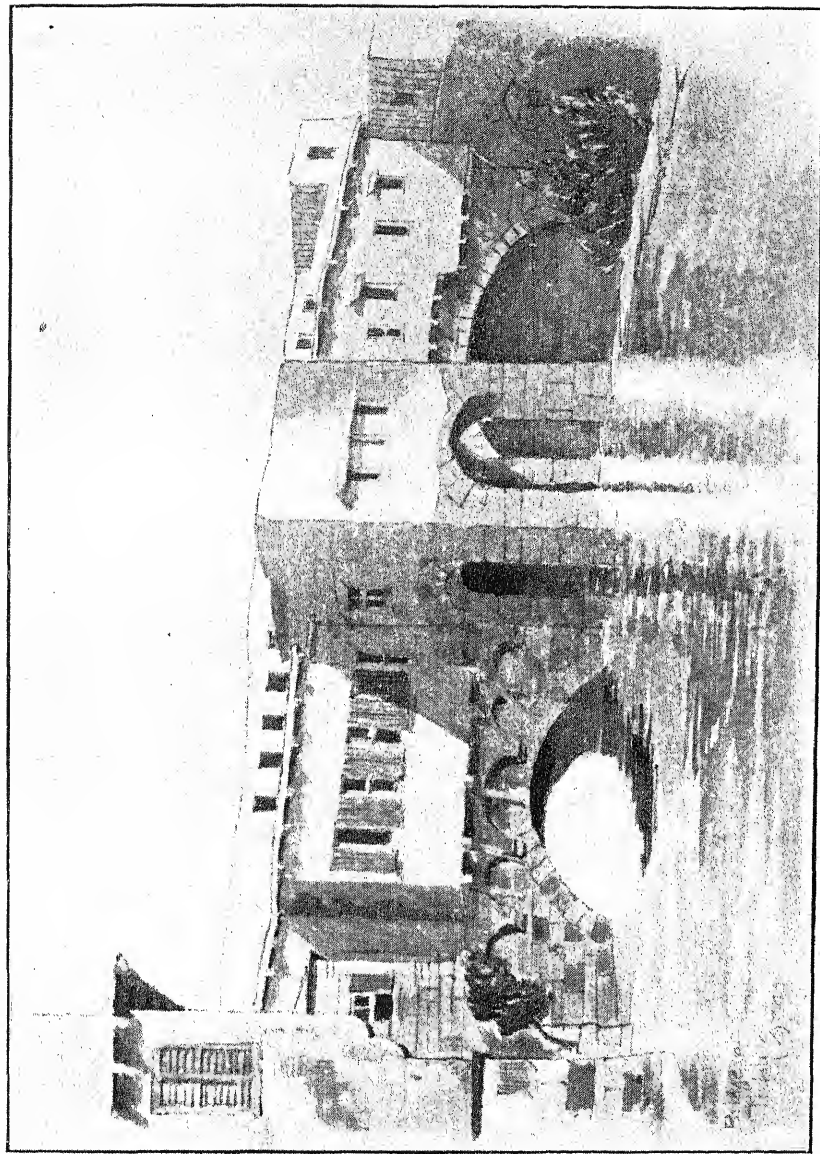
13th January, 1920.

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th and extract from "Roland."³ It was as a matter of fact the passage that first shewed me the "sovereignty" meaning of (Red) Apple: I found it in a penny Roland anthology. A still nicer applica-

¹ George Finlay the historian, whose books are in the Finlay library of the British School at Athens.

² Cf. above, p. 228.

³ Where Roland offers Charlemagne a red apple as the emblem of sovereignty.



A BRIDGE AT TRIPOLI OF SYRIA



tion is in John of Hildesheim's legend of the 3 kings, where Melchior presents Christ with a golden apple,¹ made by Alexander from the tribute of all his vassals.

I am trying to get my notes on the Passing between Columns ritual together, calling it the "Columns of Ordeal."² It makes a very nice thing, & I think valuable, not merely historically curious, as the documentation is, for such a subject, unusually good. I think I am on the whole better, or shall be the first chance the weather gives me.

No more now, do not be surprised if I am a bad correspdt. these days, as I am reading nothing new, & of course nothing happens.

Leysin,

22nd January, 1920.

Thank you for your letter of the 18th. I have been having rather a bad time, getting better now, & nothing to compromise the cure; but I get rather knocked about.

I am going to ask you, when you are not too busy, to copy me a short par. about baptism taking away smell,³ of which I have only an untrustworthy English trans. It is said to be from J. B. Casalius *De Thermis et Balneis Veterum*, 17th c., I think, & English crib begins:—"These ablutions became much less frequent among the Xtians. on account of the expiation made upon earth by the blood of Xt., for the innate foetor in the blood of man," etc. . . . down to "smell like dogs, unless they received Xtian. baptism. In a similar way the Jews stink, and are freed therefrom by baptism." It is not a very long par. & comes into my "Transferences" very well. No hurry of course.

¹ Tr. Schwab, p. 31.

² Now chapter xlvii of F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*.

³ See F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, s.v. baptism.

Leysin,

7th February, 1920.

Many thanks for letter and enclosure. Fear I must knock off writing letters for some time.

My man seems to have cut down Casalius,¹ so I am very glad to have full text, though I fear you had rather a job. It is, I hope, the last² I shall give you for some time.

¹ See above, p. 231.

² F.W.H. died on the 22nd February, a few days after his forty-second birthday.

APPENDIX

ROUND TEMPLE AND ROUND CHURCH¹

No story, perhaps, is more widely circulated in Western Europe for the glorification of an ancient or famous church than that the building in question has been, or occupies the site of, a pagan temple. To this in many cases tradition adds glibly enough the name of the pagan deity to whom the temple was dedicated, adding not infrequently the circumstances which accompanied the transformation, these being often connected with the activities of the evangelist who converted the neighbourhood. In this way the antiquity of the church is emphasized, the victory of the True Faith is presented in a picturesque and at the same time concrete image, and fresh lustre is added to the halo of the local saint.

Such traditions have of course nothing inherently impossible about them. There exist indisputable instances, like the Parthenon,² of transformed temples whose name has survived, while the well-authenticated legend of S. Benedict's occupation of the temple of Monte Cassino³ and the exploits of S. Martin⁴ show that the early evangelists acted on occasion in the traditional way.⁵ It is indeed the genuine historical traditions which have fathered a progeny of edifying plagiarisms. In nine cases out of ten the existing traditions of temples converted

¹ The text is by F.W.H., the notes, like those on the letters, are my composition for the most part.

² It became a church of Our Lady of Athens (Lambros, *'Αθήναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 4ου αἰῶνος*, p. 34). Lentheric (*Provence Maritime*, p. 384) holds to the old erroneous belief that it was a church of S. Sophia: cf. also Allard, *L'Art Païen*, p. 264.

³ Beugnot, *Destruction du Paganisme*, ii, 285: cf. Allard, *L'Art Païen*, p. 211.

⁴ Beugnot, i, 301: cf. Allard, pp. 217 f.

⁵ S. Augustine said that when temples, idols, and groves were converted to the cult of the True God, it was the same as men being converted (Beugnot, *op. cit.*, ii, 141).

into churches rest on no more than pious or archæological speculation,¹ nor do they consciously go back farther than the period of the Renaissance.

In very many cases the identification is based on no more than an appearance of extreme antiquity, or the employment in the construction of worked, carved, or inscribed stones of classical date.² The latter point is of course perfectly fallacious as evidence: even Justinian sent far and wide to obtain second-hand from temples the monolithic shafts which adorn S. Sophia, and every archæologist knows that a village church in the East, however recent, is the first place to search for ancient inscriptions and worked blocks, which have often been carried from a distance. When, however, such material evidence could be combined with literary or philological, the learned were not slow to take advantage of it.³ The facts that the abbey of Aisnay near Lyons is called *Monasterium Athenacense* in Low Latin and contains ancient columns,⁴ are quite sufficient to justify the story that it stands on the site of a temple of Athena: it may be noted by the way that Benedictines familiar with the story of Monte Cassino might be supposed more liable than others to this form of imagination.

But a very special importance, especially during and after the Renaissance, must be assigned to the architectural form of the supposed ex-temple. To the educated class of the

¹ Occasionally, however, there is archæological evidence in support. Thus, S. Ausano of Spoleto is on the foundations of an (excavated) Roman temple (Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 1900, p. 75) which is late fourth century but contains many ancient columns, etc. (*ibid.* p. 77). Similarly, in 1904 part of the stylobate of the temple on which S. Giovanni is supposed to stand came to light at Syracuse (Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 1908, p. 418).

² S. Maria Rotonda at Naples was supposed to be on the site of a temple of Vesta, because old stones were found there (Romanelli, *Napoli Antica e Moderna*, i, 70: cf. the same, i, 71, for the temple of Artemis: i, 73 for the temple of Ceres, etc.).

³ Buchon, *Grèce Continentale*, is notoriously wild in this respect. Hugonnet (*Grèce Nouvelle*, p. 309) is not much better. For Prentout, *Caen et Bayeux*, p. 106, see above, p. 79.

⁴ Sincerus, *Itinerarium Galliae*, p. 171 ("visuntur quattuor columnæ prægrandes"). The word *Athenacum* occurs already in Gregory of Tours' *De Gloria Martyrum*, i, 49. D'Heumezel (*Lyon*, p. 5, cf. p. 32) says the four columns are those of Rome and Augustus as shown on coins of Lyons (cf. above, p. 211), but their early history seems obscure. The church is now known as S. Martin d'Auray and still exists (Baedeker, *Southern France*, 1902, p. 230): it is Romanesque, the four ancient columns supporting a central tower.

Middle Ages, and indeed to many of their successors much later, two buildings pre-eminently stood for the type of the temple of the ancient world. One of these, and by far the most important, was the Pantheon at Rome; the other, whose influence was intermittent, was the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, which was known as the *Templum Domini* and supposed to be either the original Jewish temple of Herod or at least built of its original stones in its original form.¹ The Pantheon is of course a temple transformed to Christian uses in 608² and it bears its name to this day in bold letters on the architrave of its portico. Its outstanding characteristics are its round plan, its domed roofing, and the series of niches which relieve the wall space of the interior. The Dome of the Rock is a Mohammedan structure temporarily transformed into a church during the Crusaders' occupation of Jerusalem. It is octagonal in plan and consists of an ambulatory with a dome rising over the central space. Internal arrangements need not detain us, as from crusading days till recent times it was unapproachable by Christians.³ Essentially it was, like the Pantheon, a building with a dome and central plan, deviating but slightly from the circular plan.

We need not insist on the frequentation of Rome and Jerusalem as cities of pilgrimage by the clerkly class of all nations during the Middle Ages or on the immense importance to the pioneers of the Renaissance of any building of ancient times still standing. An inevitable result of such pilgrimages was that noble pilgrims vowed imitations of pilgrimage sites in their own homes.⁴ In harmony with this the general⁵ forms of the Dome of the Rock were accepted by Raphael

¹ For the Dome of the Rock see especially Adler, *Der Felsendom zu Jerusalem*. Cf. also Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, i, 529 ff., and Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, pp. 254 ff. D'Arvieux obtained a description of it while it was still inaccessible to Christians (*Mémoires*, ii, 208).

² Hare, *Walks in Rome*, p. 201. Baedeker (*Central Italy*, 1900, p. 208) says it was not transformed till 609, when it became S. Maria ad Martyres.

³ Cf. d'Arvieux, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Thus, at S. Nicolas near Troyes in France the Calvary and Sepulchre were built by a parishioner, M. Oudin, in 1555: he had been to Jerusalem and brought back the plan of the Holy Sepulchre (Morel-Payen, *Troyes et Provins*, p. 64). Similarly, in Spain an imitation of Pilate's house at Jerusalem was built in 1520 by the Marquis of Tarifa after his pilgrimage (O'Shea, *Guide to Spain*, London, 1902, p. 408).

⁵ For the vagueness of their ideas see below, p. 239, n. 8.

in his *Sposalizio* in the Brera at Milan as those of the temple of Jerusalem, just as the Pantheon interior is selected by Pinturicchio as the setting of the refusal of S. Catherine to sacrifice to the pagan gods. The circular plan and domed elevation common to both buildings were, further, far removed from the normal medieval Christian church plan, which had developed on the lines of the basilica, and so they were typical of another civilisation. The rectangular plan, which was in fact more characteristic of the classical temple, was hardly represented at Rome, such buildings having been early plundered of their marbles, while the temples of Greece and southern Italy had not been forced on the attention of the learned.

Besides the two prototypes we have named there were added two others to the common *répertoire* by ages definitely interested in the architecture of antiquity. These were the so-called Temple of Vesta¹ at Rome and its near relation, the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli.² They provide a type of round temple surrounded by a colonnade.

Under the influence of these various types of round temple certain other buildings at Rome, which modern archæology no longer associates with pagan worship, were assumed on the evidence of their plan to have been temples. Such are the Tempio della Torre³ (tomb), the "Temple of Minerva Medica"⁴ (a secular building), the round churches of S. Stefano Rotondo⁵

¹ Cf. Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i, 209. In view of what follows it is interesting to note that it was dedicated to S. Stefano (delle Carozze), before being called S. Maria del Sole (below, p. 241, n. 7.)

² Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 161: Nibby, *Itinerario*, p. 459.

³ Nibby, *Itinerario*, p. 461, who says it is a Christian building.

⁴ Hare, *Walks in Rome*, ii, 71, says this name is erroneous and due to a story that the Minerva Giustiniani was found there. It is a decagonal building with niches for statues and is now generally supposed a secular building ("part of the baths of Augustus" according to Hare, *loc. cit.*, a monumental fountain of the Licinian gardens according to Bertaux, *Rome*, i, 129, and Nibby, *Itinerario*, pp. 119-120).

⁵ Tucker and Malletson (*Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, i, 343), following Nibby, *Itinerario*, p. 90, say it was long considered a temple of Bacchus or Faunus or the meat-market of Nero, but that it is now commonly thought a fifth century church, built, however, on Roman foundations. Rivoira (*Lombardic Architecture*, i, 12), following Grisard, thinks that S. Stefano Rotondo had a civil origin and should probably be dated 65-68 A.D. It was reconstructed in 363-383 A.D. on the same plan and with the same object. Damaged in the fire of 410, it was altered by Simplicius 463-483 and then dedicated as a Christian church. These notes from Rivoira I owe to the kindness of Mrs. Strong.

and of S. Teodoro,¹ together with the circular Christian mausolea known as S. Petronilla² and S. Constantia.³ The influence of the so-called Temple of Vesta is clearly shown by the fact that Bramante's circular peripteral "Tempietto" was drawn after his death by French and Flemish artists as a temple of Apollo transformed into a chapel of S. Peter.⁴ That the Renaissance still thought usually of temples as circular or polygonal is shown by the "Tempietto" of Nola,⁵ which is circular, and by those of Vicovaro⁶ and Lucca cathedral,⁷ which are octagonal.⁸

We have thus quite a considerable number of supposed round temples in Rome itself, where more than anywhere else classical architecture was studied. The theory was inevitably applied to other buildings in Italy and elsewhere, both ancient and Christian; in the latter class baptisteries naturally figure since, from their dependence on the prototype of S. John Lateran, their plan is very often circular or polygonal. Conspicuous in this class is the baptistery of Florence,⁹ formerly claimed as an original temple of Mars and even to-day supposed

¹ Hare, following Story, calls it a temple of Romulus, and following Dyer, a temple of Cybele (*Walks in Rome*, i, 197-8). Tucker and Malletson (*op. cit.* i, 347) say it is a sixth century church built on the ruins of an ancient temple. Nibby (*Itinerario*, p. 69) says it was not built till 774 and has no connection with the ancient temple of Vesta. Mrs. Strong informs me that several modern topographers hope that future excavation round the church will reveal ancient remains.

² Now destroyed: as it stood on part of the Circus north of S. Peter's, it must have been of Christian date: moreover, its building details suggest the fourth or fifth century (Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 201). In Renaissance times it was thought a temple of Apollo (*ibid.*).

³ It is a rotunda with mosaics of vintage scenes and was in Renaissance times called a temple of Bacchus (Lanciani, *op. cit.* p. 199).

⁴ Bertaux, *Rome*, iii, 6.

⁵ Bertaux, *loc. cit.*: cf. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 1908, p. 222.

⁶ Bertaux, *loc. cit.*: cf. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 1900, p. 408 (it is dated 1450).

⁷ Bertaux, *loc. cit.*

⁸ How hard this idea dies is shown by the persistence with which the Rotunda at Salonica is called a temple of the Kabiri and the Tower of Andronicus at Athens a temple of the Winds.

⁹ Baedeker, *North Italy*, 1899, p. 443, has the diluted theory: Hare, *Walks in Florence*, p. 106, and Gebhart, *Florence*, p. 38, incline to believe it to have been a temple. Beugnot (*Destruction du Paganisme*, i, 287), on the authority of G. Villani (*Istorie Fiorentine*, 1275-1348), says that a statue of Mars was considered the palladium of Florence and set up on the banks of the Arno after the fall of Christianity. Alberti (*Descrittione di Tutta l'Italia*, Venice, 1551, p. 45) accepts the idea that it was a temple of Mars, though in his time it was a baptistery.

by some to stand on a temple site—a dilution of the original claim. The temple of Isis supposed to stand on the site of S. Stefano at Bologna¹ has probably no better claim to such a designation. The (Byzantine) round church of S. Maria Maggiore at Nocera dei Pagani was till recently considered a transformed temple,² as was the somewhat similar S. Angelo at Perugia.³

It will be noted that the two classes of buildings represented by this group, i.e. early, post-classical, central-planned buildings and round baptisteries, would both give colour to the theory inasmuch as their carved detail, plundered from actual classical buildings, approximates to the classical.

Turning to France, we find the same theories ruling but with additional complications. Among round classical buildings supposed on that account to have been temples we have the theatre at Arles,⁴ the octagonal Tour Magne at Nîmes,⁵ the round Tour de Vésone near Périgueux,⁶ and the Temple de Pluton at Autun,⁷ together with a supposed Pantheon at Arles.⁸ The theatre at Arles was thought a temple of Diana after the discovery there of the Venus of Arles,⁹ the Tour de Vésone and the Pluto temple at Autun are both probably defensive works.¹⁰ Round churches, mostly baptisteries, which are identified as temples, are especially frequent in Provence, where the local Romanesque, on account of the number of genuine Roman buildings in the country, is often elegant and

¹ Baedeker, *North Italy*, 1899, p. 351.—Alberti, p. 323, says nothing of its having been a temple.

² Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 1908, p. 179: it is apparently a polygonal baptistery "similar to S. Constanza." Allard (*L'Art Païen*, p. 268) calls it a temple, citing d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art*, i, 34, and plate viii, no. 10.

³ Schneider, *Pérouse*, p. 27, follows D. Viviani in *Bollettino d'Arte*, January, 1911, p. 30, in definitely rejecting the temple idea, and says it is certainly a church of the fifth or sixth century.

⁴ Peyre, *Nîmes, Arles, Orange*, pp. 78, 83.

⁵ Millin, *Voyage dans les Départemens du Midi*, iv, 234.

⁶ Baedeker, *Southern France*, 1902, p. 41, calls it a cylindrical building supposed to have been the *cella* of a temple. Cf. Sincerus, *Itinerarium Galliae*, p. 99 ("creditor sacellum fuisse Veneris dicatum.")

⁷ Millin, i, 315: another round building at Autun, known by Sincerus, p. 185, as a temple of Prosperine, is now destroyed.

⁸ Millin, iii, 623. Bazin (*Arles Gallo-Romain*, p. 310) says it has two niches with round arches, flanked by columns.

⁹ Peyre, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Millin, i, 315.

classical in its details. Such are the baptisteries at Fréjus,¹ Rieux,² Simiane,³ and Venasque,⁴ perhaps S. Quenin at Vaison.⁵ To a similar category belonged the supposed ex-temple of Minerva at Toulouse, the old church of La Daurade.⁶ It was supposed a temple on the strength of its apse with niches: the restoration of the eighteenth century supplied the corresponding apse necessary to turn it into a dodecagonal building. Sainte Croix at Bordeaux was thought an ancient temple because its façade has round Romanesque arches and detail copied from Roman work.⁷

A new complication is introduced by the existence in France of round and polygonal churches, generally Romanesque, built in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre. These were often erected by the Templars to serve as chapels of their establishments,⁸ known familiarly as "Temples": in one case at least,

¹ It is round and has eight Corinthian capped columns (Millin, ii, 480). The rotunda of S. Bénigne at Dijon was consecrated in 1018 and it is noteworthy that its builder had been in Rome. It was probably the baptistery of the basilica or perhaps the martyrion of the Romanesque church: for it see Kleinclausz, *Dijon*, pp. 15 ff. and Corroyer, *Architecture Romane*, p. 201.

² It is not near a church, has modern walls supported by eight Corinthian columns, and a lantern over the dome: on the whole Millin, iii, 46, and pl. liii, 3, prefers to believe it a circular temple, probably of Cybele, rather than a baptistery. It imitates S. Croix, Quimperlé (Corroyer, p. 202: cf. p. 209).

³ Millin (iii, 83, and pl. i, 9) attributes it to the eleventh century. It is apparently developed Romanesque, even transitional (Millin compares a chapel abutting on S. Etienne, Caen). It has twelve pointed bays and a pointed vault with a crypt below. Millin says it was called a Pantheon because it had twelve niches and is circular.

⁴ Menard (in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xxxii, 761) thought it a temple of Venus on account of its name: Millin (iv, 136-7) calls it a temple of "Diana." It is in plan a Greek cross with four apses at the ends of the arms. Hallays (*Avignon*, p. 143) calls it a baptistery.

⁵ Hallays (p. 140) calls it twelfth century Provençal Romanesque.

⁶ 28th August, *Acta SS.* The church was rebuilt in the eighteenth century but before this was a dodecagonal building (Dom. Martin, *Religion des Gaulois*, i, 139). It is mentioned under this name by Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, VII, x.

⁷ Millin, iv, 631.

⁸ See especially F. Adler, *Der Felsendom zu Jerusalem*, pp. 23 ff., who says definitely that the Templars' churches imitated the Dome of the Rock. They certainly held the Dome at one time and their chapels superficially resemble it rather than the Sepulchre church with its small dome showing outside, but this can scarcely be the whole story, else why did they call their chapels "S. Sepulchre"? It may have been that they adopted a rotunda form to commemorate the Sepulchre church, with possibly some thought of the Dome (the Templum Domini) also, in which case it is to be noted that the Round-Church formula, when developed as a "three-decker," is simply the ordinary large church formula applied to a circular plan: the sections are identical. The vagueness of their ideas of the Sepulchre church is also

that of the Temple de Lanleff¹ in Brittany, such a church has been accepted as an actual temple. At Puy a building of this sort is reputed either a baptistery, a Templars' church, or a temple of Diana.² At the same time the octagonal church of Montmorillon³ gave rise to the eighteenth century theory that Gaulish temples were octagonal.⁴ This theory is based on the old idea that temples were usually round or polygonal, the possibility of Roman origin being excluded in the case of Montmorillon by the barbaric carved details.

If we turn for a moment to the rectangularly planned temples, it is interesting to note that the best preserved of this class in France, i.e. the Maison Carrée at Nîmes⁵ and the temple of Livia at Vienne,⁶ were till the middle of the eighteenth century regarded as secular buildings ("prætoria.")⁷ The date cited may indeed be regarded as that of the rehabilitation of the rectangular temple, due in great measure

to be noted: Antoninus of Piacenza (c. 570) says it was "quasi in modum metæ . . . coopertum" (*De Locis Sanctis*, ed. Tobler, 21, xviii), Willibald (eighth century) and Bernard the Wise (ninth century) say it was a *tugurium* without any antechamber and with a gold cross surmounting its roof of marble slabs (*ap. Conder, Jerusalem*, p. 229). Arculf also described the pre-destruction church to the Bishop of Iona (Conder, *loc. cit.*): how detailed his description was may be gathered from his describing S. Sophia at Constantinople as "built circular from its foundations." Fabri (*Evagatorium*, iii, 392) says that S. Antonio of Padua is "ad instar ecclesiæ S. Sepulchri in Jerusaleme, rotundo opere adificatum." Adler (p. 25) mentions twenty-four Templars' churches. F.W.H.

¹ It is twelfth century according to Adler (p. 23). See also Corroyer, *Architecture Romane*, p. 202 (it is a rotunda twelve metres in diameter with twelve Roman columns: cf. Jephson, *Walking Tour in Brittany*, p. 70).

² Baedeker, *Southern France*, 1902, pp. 253-4. Bouillet's *Dictionnaire, s.v. Puy*, dates the baptistery of Puy to the fourth century. For the "temple of Diana" idea note that at Montbrison not far from Le Puy a polygonal or round *chapter-house* is called "la Diana" for *Decana*: it was built c. 1300.

³ See Millin, iv, 732, and references.

⁴ It is interesting to note that Montfaucon, the originator of the Gaulish theory, and Dom. Martin, who developed it, were both born near Carcassonne (Bouillet's *Dictionnaire, s.vv.*) and must thus have known at first-hand Rieux and La Daurade of Toulouse and so heard of their attribution to the goddess Minerva.

⁵ It was a Hotel de Ville in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, then a stable, and from 1670 onwards a church of the Augustines. It was thought to have been a capitol, a prætorium, or a basilica, Séguier in 1759 being the first to think it a temple (Millin, iv, 215-6): cf. the columns in Arles forum (Millin, iii, 618).

⁶ It was generally thought a prætorium, oftenest Pilate's. It was made a church in 1089 (Millin, ii, 50).

⁷ The latter was first recognised as a temple by Spon, who had seen the Parthenon and other Greek temples.

to the discovery and adequate publication of the Athenian monuments¹ and of Baalbek.² This is evidenced by the Madeleine, which was begun in 1764, but Canova in his temple-church at Possagno still recurs to the Pantheon as his model.³

We have thus seen that, in many cases at least, the reasons at the back of church-temple identifications are derived from imperfect archæological knowledge.

The supposed dedications of the transformed temples rest on no less flimsy evidence. Here, too, the Pantheon prototype has been influential. "Pantheon" was of course taken literally, but, according to modern scholarship, wrongly, as "temple of all the gods."⁴ A round building, really or supposedly ancient, was apt, especially if planned with internal niches like the Pantheon, to be put down as a "Pantheon," the niches being thought of as each destined for an idol: the point has a theological bearing as emphasizing the polytheism of the ancients.⁵ An extreme instance of such an identification is the so-called Pantheon of Arles, which consists of two niches and an engaged column.⁶ Similarly, there is a tendency to associate with Vesta round buildings having external columns.⁷ Among other gods there seems to have been a preference for Diana,⁸ perhaps because of her survival as patroness of witches.

¹ By Stuart and Revett, also by Le Roy.

² By Wood.

³ The Panthéon of Paris (S. Geneviève) was begun in 1758.

⁴ E.g. by Estienne, *Apologie pour Hérodote*, p. 237, who says Boniface IV replaced the festival "du Panthéon, c'est-à-dire, tous Dieux," by the "Tous-Saints": cf. De Voragine, *Légende Dorée*, pp. 603 f. and Lenthéric, *Provence Maritime*, p. 384.

⁵ The same attitude towards a rival religion is perhaps seen in the legends of a pantheon of idols in the pre-Islamic Mecca and of a pre-Christian pantheon of the Armenians (Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, *Armenien*, p. 25, n. 2).

⁶ Bazin, *Arles Gallo-Romain*, p. 310: Millin, iii, 623. Cf. Millin, iii, 83, for Simiane which is called a Pantheon because it is circular and has twelve niches. A tower at Fréjus has very thick walls with small niches: it is generally known as a Panthéon but Millin (ii, 484) considers it a *columbarium*.

⁷ An example is S. Stefano delle Carrozze (now S. Maria del Sole) at Rome (Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 1900, p. 273: Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i, 209).

⁸ An interesting case is the Convent of the Trinitarios at Murviedro near Valencia, founded in 1266 and said by some to stand on the site of an ancient temple of Diana (Bradshaw's *Spain*, London, 1865, p. 85). It happens that a miraculous stag played an important part in the founding of the Trinitarian order by S. Jean de Matha and S. Felix de Valois (see F.W.H.'s *Christianity and Islam*, ch. xxxvi, *ad fin.*). If the stag were figured in any way at the convent, it would give colour to the above legend of a Diana temple. Murviedro has notable Roman remains. It is in this connection interesting to

In many cases also some detail of ornament was sufficient to decide the dedication; for instance, the vine mosaics which decorate S. Constantia, Rome, originated the idea that it had been a temple of Bacchus.¹

Again, a chance find of an ancient statue² or inscription³ in the neighbourhood might be the source of a "tradition" which afterwards became fixed. Coincidence in local nomenclature is a further source of such a "tradition," the Athenacum at Aisnay, to which we have already referred,⁴ being a typical instance. Accidental resemblances, however, were often pushed much further. The temple of Isis, supposed to have stood on the site of Notre Dame at Paris, seems to be evolved from the derivation of the city's name from *Ἰδὴ Ἰσεως*!⁵

It is important for the whole question of "tradition" to

find that the cathedral of Valencia, built in 1262, is said to be on the site of a temple of Diana (Bradshaw's *Spain*, p. 87). Valencia is near Murviedro and not far from Denia, which is supposed to be the ancient *Dianium*. Alleged temples of Diana are at Baiæ (Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 1908, p. 108), at Capua (*ibid.* p. 10), at Castel S. Elia (Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 1900, p. 90), at Cefalu (Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, p. 356), at Digne (Millin, iii, 74), at Lipari (Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, p. 361), at Marseilles (Millin, iii, 197), at Messina (Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, pp. 373-4), at Nîmes (Millin, iv, 229-231), and at Syracuse (Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, p. 409).

¹ See Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 199. In the same way S. Quenin at Vaison was called a temple of Diana because of the boar which occurs in its frieze (Millin, iv, 140 f.). The columns in the forum of Arles were said, among other things, to have been a temple of Bacchus because a vine motif occurs in the frieze (Millin, iii, 618).

² An example is the temple of Minerva Medica, for which see above, p. 236, n. 4. A statue of Minerva having been found near the columns in the forum of Arles, they were supposed to have been part of a temple of Minerva (Millin, iii, 618). An altar of Bacchus being found in Rome, the "temple of Bacchus" acquired its name (Hare, *Walks in Rome*, i, 384).

³ The baptistery at Poitiers was long thought to be a Roman temple and tomb because of the tomb and inscription of Cl. Varenilla, which were formerly there (Millin, iv, 716). It is to be noted that Sincerus, despite his interest in classical remains, does not mention the "temple."

⁴ Above, p. 234. Baedeker (*Southern Italy*, 1908, p. 224) and Bertaux and Iver (in *Tour du Monde*, 1898, p. 609) say the Benedictine monastery on Monte Vergine is on the ruins of a temple of Cybele. The ruins are still shown. With this it is interesting to compare Comparetti, *Virgilio*, ii, 53, on Monte Vergine. The Benedictine monastery there was founded in 1125, i.e. about the time when Virgil traditions were predominant (cf. above, p. 121). There may therefore be some confusion between the goddess *Cybele* and the *Sibyl*: cf. Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire Critique des Reliques*, s.v. *Bambino*, where the monastery of Monte Vergine is said to have once possessed the relics of Saint Cybele, "mais quand on eut observé à l'abbé que Cybèle n'était pas morte dans le sein de la religion catholique, les reliques de Sainte Cybèle devinrent des reliques de Sainte Julienne."

⁵ Sincerus, *Itinerarium Galliæ*, p. 194.

note that all these conjectures come from the learned classes. The "people" has neither memory of, nor interest in, classical divinities: and where really popular names are given to the "temples" of the learned, these are derived either from popular theology or popular legend. Of the two Greek temples at Metapontum, one is called popularly the "church of Samson"¹ for obvious reasons, the other is called the "table of the Paladins."² The church of S. Angelo at Perugia, for the learned of yesterday a temple of Vulcan, Vesta, or Pan, is for the "people" the "Pavilion of Roland."³

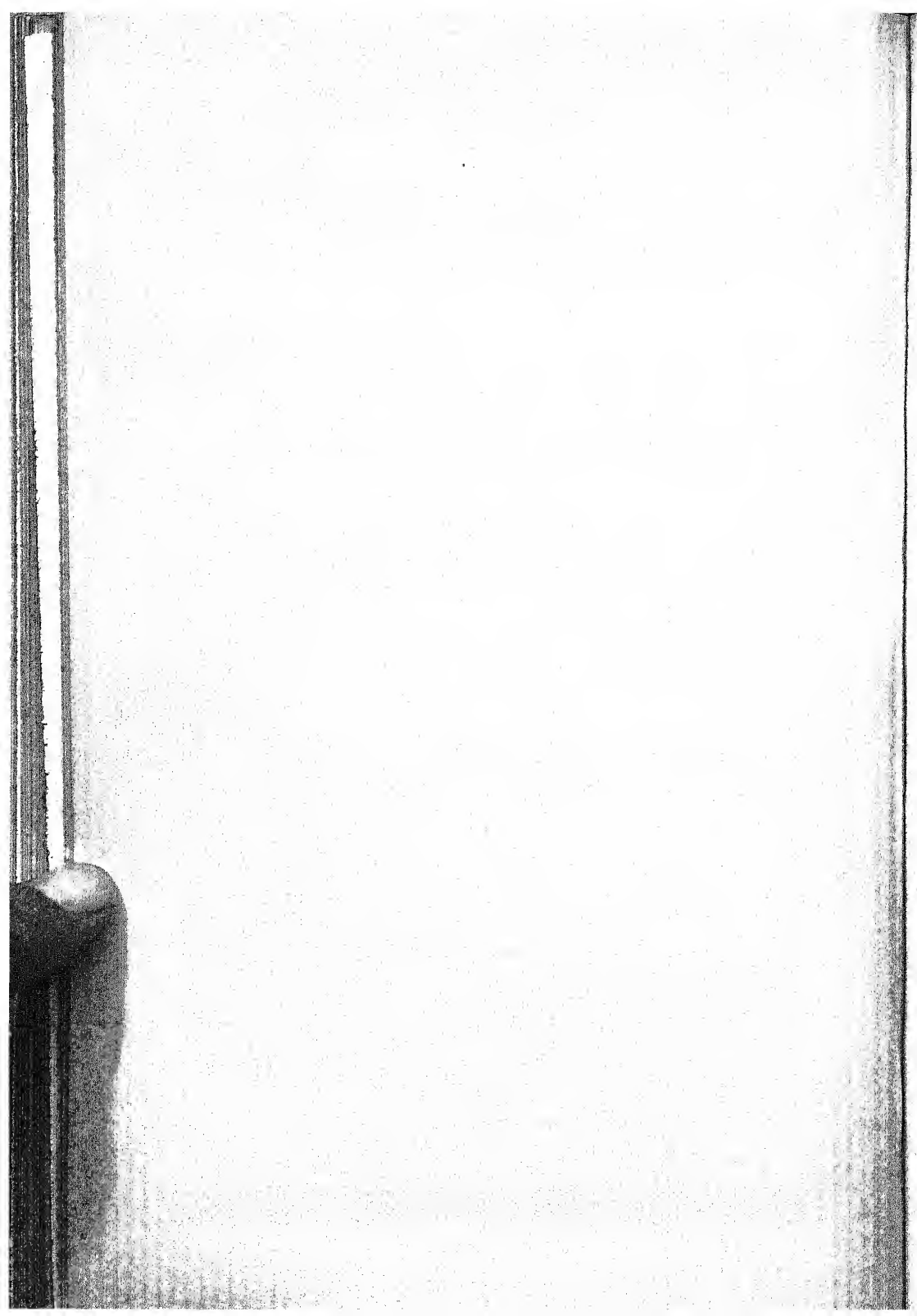
When these points are conceded, much of the groundwork on which fanciful theories of the survival of ancient gods in saints and of the local permanence of religious tradition have been erected, falls to the ground. Rome, the Eternal City, has at all times been the favourite hunting-ground for exploiters of such theories. It is not too much to say that in Rome no *important* temple site is occupied demonstrably by an *important* church,⁴ and that, conversely, the church sites of first importance have no religious connection with antiquity. If an important Christian city crowded with churches takes the place of an important pagan city crowded with temples, it is inevitable that a certain number of churches will be built on temple sites, but coincidence much more than the tenacity of tradition is responsible.

¹ Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 1908, p. 242.

² *Ibid.*

³ R. Schneider, *Pérouse*, p. 27 (see above, p. 238, n. 3).

⁴ Compare with the list of temples in Rome in the time of Valentinianus which is given by Beugnot, *Destruction du Paganisme*, i, 259, the list of temples under Honorius (*ibid.* ii, 134) and Marangoni's list of the churches in Rome supposed to be on the temple sites (*ap.* Beugnot, ii, 266, note a). Allard, *L'Art Païen*, pp. 259 ff., says there was no organised attempt to destroy temples in Rome till Alaric's sack in 410 A.D. For the law of 435, which ordered pagan "fana, templa, delubra, si quae etiam nunc restant integra, praecepto magistratuum *destrui*, collocazioneque venerandæ christianæ religionis signi expiari" see above, pp. 80-81.



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